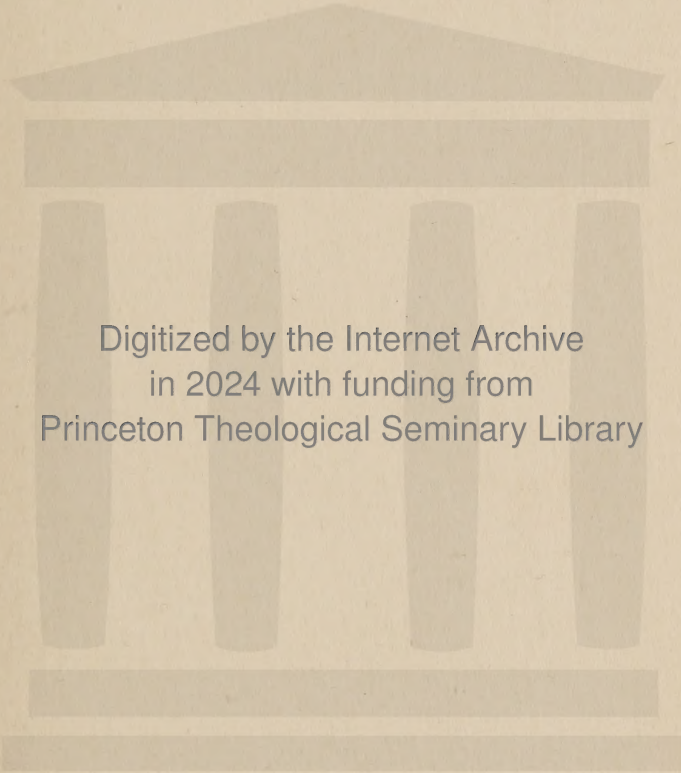
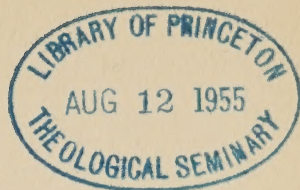


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I was a stranger



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I WAS A STRANGER



I WAS A STRANGER

*The Faith of William Booth,
Founder of The Salvation Army*

by
Harold C. Steele

WITH A FOREWORD BY B. O. WILLIAMS
AND WITH 31 ILLUSTRATIONS



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For ANITA and TOMMY

Foreword

This book, *I Was a Stranger*, deals with a life that is no stranger in today's world. William Booth and the movement which he created—The Salvation Army—are known in every corner of the globe. From its beginnings, which are described here, the "Army" has moved outward from England until its ripples touch the shores of every land. In the First World War, The Salvation Army made an unforgettable impression upon the representatives of many of the armies involved. Its motto, "A man may be down, but he is never out," has captured the imagination of many people. Its workers have reached down to many persons and pulled them up from a state of despair to one of self-esteem and self-reliance.

Harold Steele first developed the ideas in this book in a thesis which he wrote as part of his work leading to the Master of Arts degree at the University of Georgia. He has added to the original materials and has changed the basic approach from the more scientific to the more popular in terms of style. Yet he has retained an objectivity and detachment that give this work permanent value. In fact, the writer, who supervised the original thesis, feels that Steele has contributed something very definite in analyzing The Salvation Army as an institution and William Booth as a personality. Although the work, of necessity, reflects the particular philosophy of the Army's founder, Steele has kept bias and prejudice at a minimum in his analysis and description. This is not a college textbook; it is the interpretation of the life and work of a man and a philosophy. In presenting it, Steele has done a splendid job. He will be remembered for his contribution as long as William Booth is remembered.

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Preface

Through the centuries society has shown an interest in the problems of the poor. Men have instituted relief movements which have grown up to take the light of comment and action in their day and to become a part of the written record. Some such helpful schemes are still in operation. Many of the organizations have disappeared or have been absorbed into later patterns of alleviating the suffering of bewildered unfortunates.

To the roster of men who responded to the cry of poverty-stricken outcasts about them has been added the name of William Booth. He founded The Salvation Army as he shouted sermons to the poor beside the dank gutters of the East End of London. From the seed planted in 1865, when he braved the rainy winds to proclaim his faith to little outdoor groups who would listen, a social product has blossomed and matured and pushed beyond national boundaries and racial ties. The people who were persuaded to his way of belief and who elected to follow him have taken on a philosophy of the aggressive religionist. This philosophy is colored with the social-welfare conceptions which Booth established as he rose from the pulpit of his sidewalk tabernacle to stand revered as an evangelist and social reformer in palace audiences with kings of many lands.

This is a story of William Booth as an evangelistic social reformer. The purpose of the study is to analyze his socio-religious thought and the methods that he employed to develop the social relief program of The Salvation Army. It presents in essence the sociological foundations of The Salvation Army's earliest social-welfare activities. It should prove valuable in interpreting the organization to the minister and layman, to the social worker and student of social problems.

There is a great need for such a study. Whatever record may be consulted, it can safely be concluded that a widely recog-

nized or authoritative sociological analysis of the social thought and methods which underlay the establishment of the social work of The Salvation Army has not been published. There is a wealth of prejudicial material, both favoring and disfavoring that work. But a middle ground of objectivity with emphasis upon its aspects which have significant sociological implications and which may enlighten the modern social worker has not appeared.

The author is indebted to a number of individuals whose encouragement and advice and suggestions enabled him to complete the present task. Special thanks are due Dr. B. O. Williams, head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Georgia, whose constant interest and encouragement have been inspiring throughout the period of writing and revision. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Rollin Chambliss and to Professors Walter Martin and Paul Pfuete of the University of Georgia, who served on the original thesis-examining committee.

Invaluable aid was given by Professor R. Linton Cox, assistant dean of the Emory University College of Arts and Sciences, who critically read and corrected the manuscript. Ideas for pictures and captions were obtained from Professor Daniel C. Moore, of Emory-at-Oxford. Proofs were read and criticized by Dr. Thomas B. Alexander, head of the Division of Social Sciences at the Georgia Teachers College.

Assistance in typing the manuscript was given by Miss Norma Alejandro, graduate student at Emory University, and by Professor Rebecca Parks, of the business-education faculty of the Georgia Teachers College. David N. Young and Archie B. Dixon, students of the author at Emory-at-Valdosta, gave patient and consistent attention to typing and numerous details during many months of work. For aid in obtaining references and for assistance with illustrations the author expresses appreciation to his brother, Montague C. Steele, of Atlanta, Georgia.

For their support of the original study, appreciation is expressed to Lieutenant-Colonel V. J. Huffman, divisional commander of the Maryland-Northern West Virginia division of The Salvation Army. Help beyond measure was received from Lieutenant Augusta Pressley, education officer for The Salvation Army

Southern Training College in Atlanta, Georgia. Also lending support to the project were Major and Mrs. Jack Key, Salvation Army commanding officers, and Captain Marjorie Coles of the Southern Trade Department.

Special attention to parts of the manuscript was given by Colonel Alfred J. Gilliard, chief secretary for Salvation Army operations in the southern United States and Mexico. Major John W. Busby of the Southern Trade Department helped greatly in obtaining photographs and in evaluating the manuscript.

The author has been familiar with the work of The Salvation Army over a period of years. He has met dozens of its officers, lived in their homes, attended their services and their conferences. He has seen firsthand the variety of activities offered in its camps for youth. He has watched the behind-the-scenes operations of its various shelters for the needy. Since his initial encounter during childhood with a small band of Army workers just outside a community mercantile store, the international bigness and other distinctive characteristics of the organization have held an unending fascination for him.

Let a man think what he will of William Booth and his Salvation Army. Let him accept Booth graciously, and heartily believe in his approach to the poor. Or let a man reject Booth and vigorously oppose his feelings about sin and salvation and charity. Or yet, let a man be like that one in Booth's own lifetime who said, "Frankly, I don't think much of the Salvation Army's methods of cleaning up this world . . . but I believe that God A'mighty does. . . ." Simply to find out how it all came about has been the real challenge in this story.

H. C. S.

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. . . For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

Then shall the righteous answer him, saying, Lord, when . . . saw we thee a stranger, and took thee in? or naked, and clothed thee?

Or when saw we thee sick, or in prison, and came unto thee?

And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.

MATTHEW 25:35-40

Introduction

This volume involves of necessity certain details of the biography of William Booth and of the history of The Salvation Army. Of primary significance is the sociological analysis of Booth's Darkest England Social Scheme itself. This scheme represented the compendium of the earliest comprehensive social-welfare philosophy and methods of William Booth in behalf of the poor.

Throughout this account, references will be made to The Salvation Army as a religious movement, to the social-welfare scheme that is a part of the history of that movement, and to the activities of William Booth in the inauguration and advancement of both. Since major attention has been directed toward Booth's social-welfare activity, the relation of the religious movement to the social-welfare program must be recognized.

The Salvation Army, hereinafter referred to as "The Salvation Army," or "the Army," is a term representing a movement composed of religious workers and founded as The Christian Mission by William Booth in 1865. In 1878 this mission became known as The Salvation Army and adopted military titles and procedure. The fundamental purpose of The Christian Mission was to bring the message of Christianity to the people of various cities and towns of England. Whether or not this Christian message should involve provision for the physical relief of temporal misery, little stress for an expansive program of such relief appeared in the organization until some twenty-five years after its founding—twelve years after it had become known as The Salvation Army.

The Foundation Deed Poll of The Christian Mission was enrolled in Chancery on July 6, 1875. This document defines the religious motives and fundamental purposes of the Mission, as the following excerpt indicates:

. . . In the year One thousand eight hundred and sixty-five the said William Booth commenced preaching the

Gospel in a Tent erected in the Friends' Burial Ground Thomas Street in the Parish of Whitechapel in the County of Middlesex and in other places in the same neighborhood *And whereas* a number of people were formed into a community or society by the said William Booth for the purpose of enjoying religious fellowship, and in order to continue and multiply such efforts as had been made in the Tent to bring under the Gospel those who were not in the habit of attending any place of worship by preaching in the open air in Tents Theatres Music Halls and other places and by holding other religious services or meetings . . .

In 1890, when Booth decided to begin comprehensive social work, the evangelical Salvation Army, by which name The Christian Mission had by then become known, became a basic part of his general social-welfare methods. It constituted the source from which he proposed to draw leadership and direction which he considered essential in carrying out the plan of the social-welfare thought revealed in his *Darkest England Social Scheme*.

The *Darkest England Social Scheme*, often referred to as "the *Darkest England Scheme*," "Booth's Scheme," "Booth's Social Scheme," or "the scheme," represents the system of social thought and welfare methods which William Booth formulated some twenty-five years after he founded the Mission. He presented the scheme in 1890. It appeared as his book entitled *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. This work was a comprehensive treatment of his thought on poverty and the causes of misery, with his suggestions for their alleviation. He gave in it his argument to show why he felt that The Salvation Army could be used effectively in a program of large-scale relief.

The text of *In Darkest England and the Way Out* was divided into two complementary portions. In the first part Booth considered the problem and extent of poverty. This section he called "Darkness." The second part was devoted chiefly to his proposals of methods by which, he reasoned, his Salvation Army could accomplish physical as well as spiritual "Deliverance."

Comparison of an excerpt from the *Darkest England Declara-*

tion of Trust, enrolled in Chancery on January 31, 1891, with the excerpt from the Foundation Deed Poll presented above aids in distinguishing the "religious" work of The Salvation Army from the "social" work. An excerpt follows:

. . . in connection with the work teaching and experience of The Salvation Army the said William Booth has conceived and promulgated in a Book called "In Darkest England and the Way Out" and with a view to the social and moral improvement and regeneration of such as are destitute and needy whether they are or are not degraded or criminal certain Schemes which are known under the comprehensive title of the Darkest England Scheme . . . and has collected and is about to collect large sums of money and other property upon the terms that the said money and property shall be kept distinct from the other property of The Salvation Army and devoted exclusively to the said Scheme and that the said Scheme shall be defined and regulated and the trusts of the said money and property declared as hereinafter appearing. . . .

In Salvation Army literature the broad social-welfare activities that were initiated as the Darkest England Scheme have come to be referred to as activities of the "social wing" of the movement. The functions within meeting halls, street processions, singing and preaching of uniformed workers represent activities of the "religious wing." The two wings are intimately interrelated. The organization, subsequent to the formulation of the Darkest England Social Scheme, can best be designated a socio-religious agency.

The story of the movement's development into the socio-religious agency is a story of a leader who first preached the Gospel as a Wesleyan evangelist and then tried his fortune in a reform of Christian charity. The purposes of his agency were altered from the purely religious to the socio-religious. The leader himself must be presented as one whose interpretations and reforms of specific social areas have stamped him as an evangelistic social reformer.

I WAS A STRANGER

I

After Wesley

To the student of church history the success of John Wesley in establishing the groundwork for the cultivation and spread of Methodism in the eighteenth century is a remarkable demonstration of the impact of a Christian personality upon the course of social events. Through the organizational abilities, evangelistic enthusiasm and intellectual supervision of Wesley, Methodism was to spread around the earth from its humble beginnings as the Holy Club in Oxford. The religious fires of Wesleyan Methodism burned brightly for a century. Thirty-eight years after the death of Wesley, a rejuvenating spirit arose to increase the fervor of his early followers in attracting the masses to the Cross. This inspiration for expansion of Wesley's aggressive field evangelism was provided by his nineteenth-century disciple, William Booth, whose abiding faith in the goodness of men and whose promotional genius have left an indelible impression upon English religious and social history.

William Booth was born in Sneinton, a suburb of Nottingham, England, on April 10, 1829. His family was apparently of the laboring class and had experienced some prosperity for a little time before his birth. His father was an illiterate house-builder. Through the major part of William Booth's childhood and youth his family was poor.

Booth led an uneventful childhood. There was little of an unusual nature among his play groups or school associations. He grew up with the child companionship of three sisters. His only brother died during infancy.

Booth's adolescence and early manhood were significantly affected by the religious convictions of John Wesley. Booth revered Wesley as a prophet of God to the people. Booth's early life and thought were deeply influenced by the activities of the Wesleyan Methodists. In his growth from childhood to maturity and the final development of his philosophy, Booth repeated experiences that call to mind the religious thought and accomplishments of Wesley. Between the personal lives and religious activities of the two men there are interesting similarities; there are also striking differences.

Wesley's childhood had been marked by the influence of religious parents who were closely related to the work of the church. A pious mother and father encouraged their son from early childhood to love and fear God. William Booth's childhood family experiences, however, were not significantly religious. Booth's father was frustrated by unstable fortune and had little depth of religious feeling. The boy received encouragement in the religious activity of his childhood from a Christian mother.

The recognition that came to Wesley for his work toward the foundation of Methodism stemmed in part at least from his skill in writing and oratory, mastered and finished while he was a student at Oxford. Booth, on the other hand, could never boast of extensive formal education, since his schooling was cut short in his thirteenth year, when his father removed him from school and apprenticed him to a local pawnbroker.

However godly might have been Wesley's disposition after he entered the ministry, his conversion experience took place only after he had passed the quarter-century mark of his life. Before that, Wesley had been unsettled and prodigal. Despite the nature of his parents and training during his childhood, Wesley's early personality was not Christ-centered. In contrast, Booth was an habitually sensitive and religious individual throughout childhood and adolescence. This sensitivity was climaxed in his fifteenth

year by a spiritual conversion. This took place in a Wesleyan chapel under the influence of the Wesleyan Methodists. Booth described his emotions this way:

The entrance of the Heavenly Kingdom was closed against me by an evil act of the past which required restitution. In a boyish trading affair I had managed to make a profit out of my companions whilst giving them to suppose that what I did was all in the way of a generous fellowship. As a testimonial of their gratitude, they had given me a silver pencil case. . . .

I remember the spot in the corner of a room under the Chapel . . . the resolution to end the matter, the rising up and rushing forth, the finding of the young fellow I had chiefly wronged, the acknowledgment of my sin, the instant rolling away from my heart of the guilty burden, the peace that came in its place, and the going forth to serve my God and my generation from that hour.

The cathartic effect of this loss of his guilty burden was to remain upon him and to color his lifelong evangelistic and social-welfare activity. He immediately realized his calling into the ministry when he rose from the mercy seat and said that "God should have all there was of William Booth." From that hour he resolved to serve his God and his generation. This emotional release resulted in an intensification and specialization of group associations. There was a shortening of the period of storm and stress that may characterize adolescence. He narrowed and modified his amusement interests. The Bible and C. G. Finney's *Lectures on Revivals of Religion* replaced Cooper and Scott on his reading list. There was little further hunting and fishing. His companionships were altered, and Booth began a development of his talents that was directed toward a vocation of the Christian ministry.

The early significant religious leadership that Booth showed is noted in the cottage prayer meetings which he conducted and which numbers of Methodists attended. He was especially active with these prayer-meeting groups after his conversion. He served

as a pawnbroker's apprentice by day and as a leader of Wesleyan Methodists during the evenings.

The strength of attachment to the convictions of Wesley is demonstrated again in Booth's early manhood. At that time he had opportunity to study theology in London. He undertook the task. Soon the necessity arose as a condition for his advancement that he adopt Calvinistic doctrines as opposed to the teachings of Wesley. He refused to subscribe to them and resigned from his classes. In his twenty-ninth year he was ordained a minister of the Methodist New Connection. This organization was an outgrowth of John Wesley's religious campaigning in the eighteenth century.

Throughout the period from his thirteenth year to his earliest experience in the ministry, Booth's devotion to Wesleyan doctrines and procedures was decidedly strong. In his own words, he felt that "there was one God; John Wesley was His prophet, and the Methodists were His special people." After his ordination, he served for some three years as a minister of the Methodist New Connection. He accepted various pastorates and apparently enjoyed popularity as a speaker and worker among his congregations.

Thus far, Booth was a little-known Wesleyan preacher, and neither he nor his congregation envisioned him as a powerful autocratic general. The Army was awaiting birth. With its advent his name would reach deep into the four corners of the earth.

II

Parting of the Ways

The foundation of The Salvation Army as a nineteenth-century instrument for advancing the doctrines of Wesley was put down by the partnership of a man and wife whose love for each other and whose belief in Wesleyan doctrines extended over a long and happy engagement and marriage experience. From a brief and casual acquaintance with his fiancée, John Wesley had said his marriage vows more as a companionate and habitual response than as expression of a passionate and tender love. The early creative and executive functions underlying the establishment of Methodism came from the efforts of a two-man team, Wesley and Whitefield, not from John Wesley and his wife. She offered little lasting or significant encouragement toward his religious work.

During the years of his early ministry, Catherine Mumford, Booth's fiancée and later his wife, exerted a lasting influence upon the expression of his religious convictions. She was a nervous and energetic personality and an eager reader. She had served as secretary of a temperance society and was concerned with the problems and progress of various missions even before she met William Booth. In her eighteenth year she had undergone a religious conversion experience, the general nature of which was similar to that which Booth had known. On April 10, 1852, she attended one of Booth's Wesleyan meetings in a London home. Along with his

personal qualities, she was impressed with his recital of a one-hundred-and-ten-line poem, "The Grog-Seller's Dream." They became acquainted and were soon engaged.

Catherine Mumford's influence in affecting the course of his life's work can better be appreciated by a brief consideration of her religious disposition. She identified herself vibrantly with a Superior Being. During the engagement period she wrote to Booth that her soul responded most gladly to his invitation to give herself afresh to the Lord and to strive to link herself closer to Booth by rising more into the image of the Master. She saw a productive future in God's service when she wrote, "And who can estimate the glory of God and benefit to man accruing from a life spent in such harmonious effort to do His will?" They were married on June 16, 1855.

The story of the life and contributions of Catherine Booth in the advancement of The Salvation Army is an entire work in itself. Through nearly forty years of marriage she preached Booth's faith on platforms in all parts of Britain. She was an aggressive agent for the cause of woman suffrage. She was active in developing a number of peculiar institutional features of the Army. She bore Booth eight children and raised them under the shadow of his flag. To Booth, she was a "companion, counsellor and comrade." She was a "loving, faithful and devoted wife" who shared "my every ambition for the welfare of mankind," and Booth always called her "Kate."

Though they held the Wesleyan doctrines in high esteem, Mrs. Booth constantly encouraged her husband to break away from the direction of the Wesleyan Conference in regulating the method of conducting his religious work. She desired complete freedom from general pastoral responsibilities. Such freedom would enable her husband to devote more time in the field as an evangelist. She emphasized the detrimental effect which she believed Booth's submission to the Conference rulings had upon him. She could see no reason for believing that they were a necessary element in his future success as a minister.

The freedom which Booth himself also desired for evangelistic campaigning was denied him during three successive meet-

ings of the Methodist Conference. During the Fourth Annual Conference in Liverpool in 1861, Booth again requested release from a specific parish in order to direct his energy toward evangelism. However, according to the decision of the governing body, he would be compelled to accept a pastorate. Mrs. Booth, who had accompanied her husband to the Conference meeting, climaxed her long hope for his resignation by signaling her disapproval of the decision to him. Soon after the meeting Booth formally resigned as a minister of the Methodist New Connection.

It was immediately following his resignation that Booth embarked upon a period of itinerant preaching—three long years filled with the courage of his own convictions. This was his most precious possession, for many of his meetings were failures, and his monetary reward was as nothing. But through it all he discovered the positive end of the means, and in so doing, founded the Mission which became the Army.

III

Powers of an Autocrat

In founding his Methodists, John Wesley had molded and developed an already-functioning nucleus of people. The nucleus of future Methodists was originally organized by his brother, Charles Wesley. It was John Wesley who provided the organizational and promotional spark that was required to enlarge this small beginning, discipline it and fill it with the perseverance to send Methodism around the earth. William Booth similarly came into an already-functioning nucleus of people who followed the guiding light which he provided toward making Salvationism ring throughout the lands. It was in June, 1865, four years after his resignation from Conference ties, that Booth came unexpectedly upon an organized group of religious workers on Mile End Waste in the East End of London. They were conducting outdoor services in front of the Blind Beggar Public House. This small body was made up of members of the Christian Community, an organization of descendants of Huguenot refugees of the seventeenth century. Other members of their party represented various small missions which had been established. They were sent to their preaching stations from their headquarters in a tent on an unused Quaker burial ground. Booth took opportunity to address this band of zealots and those who stood near by. He was invited to their subsequent meetings. At the group's invitation, he became

their leader. From July, 1865, functioning under Booth's direction, the group of workers was variously called The Christian Revival Association, The East London Christian Revival Union, The East London Christian Revival Society, The East London Christian Mission, and, finally, The Christian Mission.

The purpose of The Christian Mission was to carry the Gospel to people who were not attending churches. Preaching was done in the open air, in tents, in theaters or music halls. The Mission appealed primarily to the working and underprivileged people of Britain. In the advancement of his Mission, Booth always kept his mind centered around the worker, for he believed heartily in the energy and worth of the common classes.

The Methodist denomination had sprung up from the factories and the proletariat. Wesley's first preaching was done in the simple workaday language of the man on the street against opposition and persecution against which he proved himself an admirable champion. Wesley steadily advanced the unpolished principles of the Sermon on the Mount. He attracted his preachers from the low rungs of the social ladder. He paid them ten shillings a week. Booth likewise picked his first preachers from the ranks of the British commoner. These men followed the example of their leader against shouting mobs. They were mocked, but they put the Word of God into simple terms for simple people to hear and understand.

For thirteen years the Mission flourished under Booth's direction.

About December, 1878, the name "Salvation Army" occurred suddenly and without special design. In answer to an inquiry concerning the purpose for which The Christian Mission stood, George Scott Railton, a mission aggressor, and Bramwell Booth, first son of William, replied: "We are a voluntary army." William Booth, however, immediately substituted the word "salvation" for "voluntary," and thus was born the familiar title The Salvation Army.

From June, 1865, when Booth began his leadership of the Missioners from the East End of London, until 1890, The Salvation Army was to develop internationally as an autocratic evange-

lical agency. For the student who would fully appreciate the social service of The Salvation Army, the development of that autocracy must be reviewed. The mass of sufferers who were to have bestowed upon them the physical and spiritual relief of 1890 had to be controlled, as did the workers who gave them that relief, and Booth used his autocratic powers to keep the lives of both worker and client well-ordered and constantly disciplined. The influence of Bramwell Booth was significant in causing the transformation of the government of his father's organization from an originally democratic Conference form to the autocracy which Bramwell had been advocating.

In spite of his personal disagreement with Conference regulations as applied to his own activity as an ordained minister, William Booth had tried at first to develop his Mission into a self-governing organization. Thus, in 1870, he organized a representative Conference. The Conference form of government functioned in all affairs of the Mission for a period of some seven years.

Bramwell Booth believed that it was democratic procedure that caused the work of the early Christian Mission to receive little public attention. Accordingly, Bramwell persuaded his father to call a special meeting of a Conference Committee, of which Bramwell was a member, late in 1876. At this meeting the son expressed his feeling of dissatisfaction with Conference regulations. The idea of the committee was that lives had been given up to work under William Booth and those he appointed, rather than under one another. Referring to the Conference, there was "not much good of a lot of talk, with one wanting one thing and another another." As a result of this committee meeting with Bramwell, William Booth expressed a feeling to the General Conference meeting in January, 1877, that he felt a large portion of time was being wasted in discussion of comparatively trifling matters. He felt that he had launched the Conference into a sea of legislation which had amounted to very little.

There was general agreement among members of the Conference concerning Booth's attitude over democratic procedure. The Conference, therefore, agreed with his desire to alter the extent of Conference rule. A definite decision to this effect was rati-

fied by the Conference of June, 1877. Booth took over to himself in large measure the powers that had originally been distributed and shared by the members of Conference. Almost unanimously, his co-workers consented to act under his direction.

By 1878, the organization was legally recognized as being distinctly under control of one person. The General Superintendent of the Christian Mission was William Booth, and he was to continue as such for the remainder of his life. He was the complete autocrat: He now had power to appoint his successor. He could expend all monetary contributions. He could acquire or dispose of property. He had the power to set up or revoke trusts. An act of Parliament itself was the only instrument by which his autocratic powers could be challenged. And after attaining the position of his autocracy, he had only to take a step in time to become general of an army.

IV

An Army With a General

The Mission had been officially referred to as "The Salvation Army" about July, 1878. The official change of name of the organization from The Christian Mission to The Salvation Army appeared on the twenty-fourth of June, 1880, when William Booth incorporated it into the Foundation Deed of The Salvation Army. His title of General Superintendent of the Christian Mission on its letterheads was altered, and Booth became "General" of The Salvation Army.

As functioning heads of their creations, both Wesley and Booth looked upon their organizations as their own in a special way. Wesley considered Methodism the personal possession of its founder. Booth looked with a selfish eye upon his group of followers and spoke proudly of "my Salvationism."

With the growth of his denomination, Wesley came more and more to consider the problems and need of discipline. There grew up in Methodism an accepted difference in rank between minister and layman. God looked upon the minister in a manner different from the way he considered the layman. Wesley was the governmental control who admitted none into his groups who lacked evidence of the first true experience of salvation. No lay preacher was appointed or reappointed without Wesley's consent. Orders and regulations on hymns, speech, eating and drinking were pro-

vided by the Conference of a hundred preachers whom Wesley had chosen to control affairs and properties of the Methodists.

Booth similarly and early recognized the need for discipline. There was a definite distance between the man who preached and the man who listened. This feeling had been climaxed in 1878 with the name The Salvation Army and in its titles of subordination and superordination. Booth, as the ranking leader, placed himself in charge of the selection of individuals who desired entry into his services, just as Wesley had done. The orders and regulations of The Salvation Army were handed down by Booth, for he was the autocratic chief of his movement with advisory councils of only top officers whom he had selected from his staff.

By his insistence upon a belief in human brotherhood and what he considered intelligent direction from his London headquarters, Booth sought to develop in the Salvationist body a spirit of internationalism centered around a British governmental core. He laid the foundation for consolidation and autocratic control of the expanding enterprise. Of special importance in establishing governmental control was his function in writing, publishing and distributing his *Orders and Regulations for Field Officers*, the *Orders and Regulations for Soldiers of The Salvation Army*, *Orders and Regulations for Staff Officers*, *Orders and Regulations for Training Officers*, and *Orders and Regulations for Territorial Commanders*.

The first condition of life service in The Salvation Army was an unquestioning obedience. One who desired training as an officer signed a declaration of strict obedience before his entrance into an Army training college. From the time of his candidacy, the authority of the General was impressed upon him. Such a candidate had to declare that he would never, on any consideration, do anything which might do injury to The Salvation Army. He would never without first obtaining the consent of the General take any part in any religious services or in services held in opposition to the Army. He pledged that he would make daily on the forms supplied him true records of what he did. He would confess and report, as far as he could see in other workers, any neglect or variation from the orders or directions of the General.

He understood that the General did not intentionally employ or retain in the service of the Army anyone who did not appear to him to be suited for the work, or faithful and successful in it. The candidate promised to leave any Army station to which he might be sent, without disturbing or annoying the Army in any way, if the General should want him to. The candidate freed the Army and the General from all liability, and promised to make no claim on account of any situation, property or interest he might sacrifice in order to obtain an engagement in the Army. He understood further that the General was not responsible in any way for any loss he might incur in consequence of dismissal from training. The cadets were taken into training for the special purpose of testing their fitness and devotion for the work of Salvation Army officers.

Booth's firm command and insistence upon obedience was first in the mind of the candidate. Booth wanted Salvation Army families that were based upon the union of officers who were pledged to obey him implicitly. Candidates who sought to come into his work must realize that they would not be allowed to marry until three years after their appointment as officers. If a young person were not courting he must pledge himself to abstain from anything of the kind during training and for at least twelve months after he was appointed as a commissioned field officer. He could not carry on any courtship with anyone at a station to which he was appointed. He could never commence, or allow to commence, or break off any courting without first informing his divisional officer or headquarters of his intention to do so. He must not marry anyone if that marriage would take him from the Army altogether. Even after becoming an officer, he must inform his divisional officer or headquarters of his desire to enter into or break off any engagement. Headquarters could not consent to the engagement of male lieutenants until their divisional officer was prepared to recommend them for command of a station as captains. Before headquarters could give consent to the marriage of any officer, the divisional officer had to be prepared to give him three stations as a married man. Generally, no person accepted would be allowed to marry until he or she had been in the field

for at least three years. No male officer would be allowed to marry under twenty-two years of age under any circumstances unless headquarters required him for special service.

Generally, an engagement period must precede marriage for twelve months. Consent would not be given to the engagement of any male officer unless the young woman was likely to make a suitable wife for an officer and was prepared to come into training at once. Consent would be given to engagements between female officers and soldiers on condition that the soldier was suitable for officership and was willing to come into training if called upon.

When Booth, or one of his officers, performed a marriage ceremony of soldiers or Salvation Army officers a vow of loyalty to the Army was a definite part of that ceremony. The couple about to be united repeated after Booth:

We do solemnly declare that we have not sought this marriage for the sake of our own happiness and interests only, although we hope these will be furthered thereby, but because we believe that the union will enable us better to please and serve God, and more earnestly to fight and work in The Salvation Army.

But with his broad restrictions Booth also gave shares of the power of his autocratic generalship. Like John Wesley he held to the principle of episcopacy. He permitted his territorial and divisional officers in various localities to serve in authority much as the bishops of the Methodist Church.

As General of his movement, Booth finally made definite breaks with obligations to all other religious groups. He welded his people into a separate and distinct body. Wesley, in his early work, had opposed all attempts to draw up an organized distinction between his groups and the Church of England. He felt that he himself was a member and regarded his society not as a separate denomination but as a functioning organization within the church. Similarly, Booth originally hoped to be able to encourage people into church membership after he had caused them to make an initial confession of the conversion experience. It was not his

original plan to keep them. He felt that he was an aggressive agent of the church who was to function as a God-directed scavenger in bringing men into the heavenly fold from out of the muck of spiritual distress. As the General grew in the power of his autocracy, however, he was led to recognize the value of unquestioned loyalty. He learned that if much good were to come from his ministry, some more positive approach should be made to bind his converts tenaciously together. This would help to assure their greatest loyalty to himself and to the movement which he headed. He therefore made a clean and unchanging break with reliance upon established church procedure. He forbade public service in any gatherings except those of The Salvation Army. He felt that there must always be a distance between the activities of the Salvationists and the members of the established church. He grew more able to speak and feel independently of Wesley. The major forms and ceremonial practices of the church that had been adopted by The Salvation Army were discontinued; the individual had to decide if he wished to serve in the church or in The Salvation Army.

In 1882 the Upper House of Convocation of the Church of England appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of taking Booth's Salvation Army under the jurisdiction of the church. This idea proved quite fruitless. Booth had broken completely and permanently with the church and had set himself to building an unconventional army for God.

Despite the strong governing bonds of both the early Methodists and the Salvationists groups, there were distinct tendencies that moved toward the breakup of the organizations. In the case of John Wesley's Methodism, there were two separate forces that figured in this fact. There were, first, the controversies over Calvinism and, second, disagreements on the form of government for Methodism. Discord on the place of Calvinism produced many embittered groups. As for government, Ervine says that in the management of Methodism Wesley made himself the complete governor. Conference was simply Wesley, since Wesley appointed all the members of that body. This arrangement reflected an all-powerful individualism that was detrimental. There was one man

and one church, not one body and one church. This fact led many group members to break away from the foundation principles and practices of pure Methodism.

In the development of his Army, Booth also lost members as his final philosophy and practices unfolded. As The Christian Mission changed into The Salvation Army, for example, there were aggressive workers who could not interpret their religious convictions through an Army, however godly such an Army might be. And in 1898, while Booth was gaining international recognition for the plan of social redemption he had proposed and set into operation, there were loud undercurrents of opposition on the way the government of the Army was being conducted. Booth's son, Ballington, resigned his commission and sought to use American Salvation Army officers to found his Volunteers of America that would be guided by democratic principles of government. For Ballington, the extreme powers held by the British General of The Salvation Army resulted in a block to the efficient management of an international concern. Not enough power was given to subordinate commanders. Individuals who had been trained in British customs could not adequately and intelligently attack social and religious problems arising as the movement adjusted to the mores of different cultures and nationalities. But William Booth could answer that experience had not convinced him of this. Had not his Army pushed successfully into eighteen different countries since it first came to America in 1880 under autocratic British discipline?

The extension of his Army, with its bright uniforms, made a strong impression upon the British public and upon the people of other lands. Booth, with characteristic enthusiasm, supported the idea of military titles and procedure. In military advancement, meetings with Booth's officers became known as "Councils of War." Trainees for life service under his command were called "cadets." Local units of worshippers made up "corps." Places of worship were called "citadels" or "outposts." Evangelistic undertakings were known as "campaigns." Areas in which work was carried on were divided into "territories" which were under the direction of "commissioners." Territories were subdivided into

"provinces" or "divisions," which were made up of a number of corps. Booth himself was "General." His second-in-command was "Chief of Staff." Various other officers were uniformed "colonels," "majors," "captains," and "lieutenants." These officers, both men and women, whom Booth had chosen, were later to serve as directors of various units of his Social Scheme. They assumed titles and positions of equal rank and responsibility.

Booth the General called his creed the "Articles of War," and in it he outlined the beliefs that his Salvationists adopted. This creed contained fundamental doctrines. It was rooted in the teachings of the Wesleyan Methodists. Signing of a declaration of these doctrines was required of all people who would become Booth's followers.

The Salvationists believed that man had been created in purity, but that by Adam's fall he had lost Divine favor. A freedom of choice between good and evil had been provided with the creation of Adam. God was a stern God, but he did not will that any should be lost. God was all powerful. He had a perfect knowledge of all things.

Booth's God was a jealous God who wanted all men to imitate Him in seeking after perfection. The God of the Salvationists led the world as a father leads his children. Booth conceived of a patriarchal world family guided by a Father who recognized that some of His children would always reject His leadership. Others of His children would be faithful to Him throughout their earthly experience. His children with intelligence to select things good or things bad would vary in the proportion of ability to contribute to the progress of life. Some were to lead; others were to be led toward earthly goodness. In all of his children God had a personal interest. He was all-loving. He had grieved at man's fall, but just as the earthly father had opened his heart again to the prodigal, so Booth's heavenly Father had provided a means of counteracting man's original guilt by the suffering and the blood and the death of His own Son. By grace through faith in the personality and power of Christ, man could feel himself forgiven and restored to Divine favor. This possibility of redemption had been provided readily by the gift of God, the agony of

Christ, and the intervention of the Holy Ghost. Man simply had to turn in penitence to God and receive His gift. He could rise up a new creation with a mind reordered in its nature. He could pass from spiritual death into life, for he could rise from the cross of his personal ignorance, indifference and prodigality to the crown of identification with Christ through the agency of the Holy Spirit. But in spite of the reality of this acquired salvation, man could slip again into the paths of unrighteousness and fall from Divine approval. He must, therefore, follow his penitent conversion with duty, love and unselfish service to God and man in response to God's unselfish gift of redemption. Booth's formal creed included a profession of this personal knowledge of redemption, a promise of separation from the world, and of loyalty to Christ. There was a vow of devotion to The Salvation Army. This was to be expressed among other ways by obedience to its officers. There was included a profession of faith in the possibility of living a holy life.

A simple ceremony was performed if a convert desired soldiery in Booth's Salvation Army. The individual stepped from his seat and took his place on a platform. An arch behind him was formed of two flags—a flag of the Army and the national flag—held in place by two comrades who were already enrolled in the War. Between these two workers and in front of the arch the would-be member stood to repeat the doctrines of William Booth after they were uttered by the corps officer. Then the officer said, "Now in the name of God the Father and in the name of the General of The Salvation Army, I welcome you as a soldier of this corps of The Salvation Army."

During his Army ministry Booth decided that the sacraments were not necessary. His final conclusions about them were much like those of George Fox and the Quakers. Booth felt that it was a mistake to think that Christ made them binding upon men. Booth required no sprinkling. There was no water baptism or Lord's Supper. He did not substitute anything for them. He said that he substituted only so far as to urge upon his soldiers in every meal they took to remember, as they broke the bread, the broken body of the Lord and, as they drank the cup, His shed blood, and every

time they washed the body to remember that the soul could only be cleansed by the purifying blood of Christ.

While the Salvationist did not need sacraments, Booth stressed the need for public testimony. The individual must keep himself ready to testify in the highways and the hedges to the belief in the power of a regenerating conversion experience. This experience was available for all men through the love of God, the Father of men and Father of The Salvation Army.

As Booth's followers sought to maintain Divine sonship, they would abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors and harmful drugs. Like members of the present-day Nazarene Church, Booth's soldiers were especially opposed to alcoholic drinks and tobacco. They would devote all leisure time and spare energy and money to help forward the "Salvation War." And in their effort to maintain a secure relationship to God through duty, love, obedience and unselfish service to humanity, the death of the body would be a time of rejoicing that a uniformed worker had gone home from an earthly Army to be with Jesus and the Heavenly Hosts. There would be no mourning dress; instead, bereaved members would wear the "cross and crown" badge in recognition of a heavenly blessing, a crowning achievement. They would cover the coffin with the "blood and fire" flag, for Christ had shed His blood to save the soul, and sin had been kept away through the fire of the Holy Spirit.

Booth developed a characteristically militant method of evangelism. This included rousing outdoor meetings and processions. Use was made of music, especially brass bands, tambourines and cymbals to attract crowds outside the range of the voice. The meetings and personal contact of the Christian Mission days continued. Booth expanded his effort in private homes, prisons, public houses, theaters, factories and other places. Popular tunes were adapted to religious themes. The formal sermon was largely abandoned. An informal and colloquial type of message was cultivated.

As his Army grew, Booth was instrumental in forging some major links of its financial chain. He gave to the movement the copyrights and royalties of his writing. Among these may be

mentioned the *War Cry*, a weekly periodical first published under that title in 1879. His books prior to the publication of his Darkest England Scheme included *Salvation Soldiery*, *The Training of Children*, and *The General's Letters*.

William Booth instigated the plan of self-denial in 1886. During that year 4,820 pounds were collected. According to this method of giving, members of the movement denied themselves some pleasure such as pudding at mealtime to contribute the saving to the work of the agency. In 1889, there were some 20,000 pounds raised by this means.

Booth developed the idea that, from a financial standpoint, the "strong must help the weak." That is, money was raised from the more financially fortunate areas for use in extending his work into areas in which there was not so great financial security. Every three months during the early history of his movement, money was collected at each locality of his operations and set aside as a quarterly collection for use in sponsoring new areas of effort.

A number of individuals were greatly impressed with the work of the Army even before the beginning and extension of the social work. Booth gave attention to the cultivation of this source of financial assistance to his efforts. Thousands of pounds were raised by this means.

There was organized attention to Booth's financial needs, even during his earliest Mission work. For example, during February, March and April of 1867, he received funds for the rent on some of his meeting halls, salaries for some of his evangelists, and printing expenses. This assistance was given by the Evangelization Society, a social-betterment group which was impressed with the character of his efforts among the poor.

Booth early saw the need of dividing the financial possessions of his organization into special funds from which to draw upon as needed. While The Christian Mission functioned, he established the fund for general spiritual work, a general poor fund, a "destitute saints' " fund, and a building fund.

Bramwell Booth wrote that by 1880 The Salvation Army had proved that the little communities of soldiers in the various locali-

ties could be supported by their own meager tithes and exertions. Whether or not this goal of self-support has been fully realized, there is definite evidence that Booth envisioned and believed in its possibility.

Booth directed the earliest efforts of the social service of The Salvation Army. Even before his Darkest England Scheme, he had developed rescue homes in 1884. Police and court work began in 1887. Shelter and food depots were established in 1888. Of this decade of the eighties Booth's experience in small-scale social work was the seed that flowered into the passionate interest in broad evangelistic social relief that characterized the Darkest England Social Scheme.

Booth was an aggressive military campaigner. In the name of his movement he preached and traveled in many countries. His son Bramwell estimated that during Booth's sixty years of evangelistic campaigning, he preached between 50,000 and 60,000 sermons. Bramwell suggested that his father must have exceeded John Wesley's total mileage in campaigns by twenty times. By using railway, steamship and motorcar, Booth visited France, the United States, Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden and Norway before the publication of his Darkest England Scheme.

Before 1890 Booth had directed the extension of his movement beyond its native London boundaries. This growth included "invasions" of America in 1880, France and Switzerland in 1881, Canada, Sweden and India in 1882, Ceylon, New Zealand and Capetown in 1883, Germany in 1886, Denmark, Holland, Italy and the West Indies in 1887, Kaffraria and Norway in 1888, and Finland and Belgium in 1889.

Thus from his humble beginning on Mile End Waste, Booth, by the late eighties, had developed a specific social movement with recognized and accepted leaders and a definite membership characterized by a "we" consciousness. As the evangelist he had criticized and condemned the sinfulness of men and justified his movement through its objective, which was the removal of that sinfulness. He had given power to the operation of the movement and had set its face in a particular direction. He had cultivated and trained personnel for the attack and had given his warriors

the spiritual weapons for defending themselves against the jeers of unbelievers. He had armored them with inspiration and hope for the future.

Booth had ruled with an iron hand this development into an autocratic evangelistic organization. He had given a guiding set of values to his followers and provided a practical philosophy and a body of expectations. These were contained in his formal doctrines and beliefs. He had developed converts through the evangelistic appeal of his Articles of War. He had sensitized these converts to one another. He had focused their energies on heavenly goals. As a spokesman for God he had through the years sharpened the objectives of the small band whom he first met on Mile End Waste. Booth had stressed the importance of a centralized attitude, and in many cases he had changed completely the life values of those who followed him. The converts who, before their conversion, were lonely and alienated won a sense of status and a sense of social acceptance and support. He gave them rules and disciplined them. He provided organizational and functional policies. He developed military tactics. Through all divisions of his international Army he sought to develop a common sympathy and a sense of intimacy, however great the physical distance between his workers might be. Thus he provided solidarity essential for establishment and expansion of the international agency.

Booth gave morale to his Army. He became essentially a major saint, much like Wesley or Fox. In the eyes of his believers he was grossly superior and infallible. And they were loyal to him. He had channeled their energy toward acquiring peace with their Maker. He had given them feelings of expansion with their titles of "captain," with their corps responsibility, with the responses of converts who accepted their beliefs, with their drums and cornets and uniforms. And he had done his early work in the midst of a social scene that reflected the horror of man's inhumanity to man.

V

The Children of Despair

The development of a broad understanding of the social thought and welfare methods of William Booth makes necessary a consideration of the social and industrial conditions in which The Salvation Army found root. The social work of the agency appeared as a counteracting force to undesirable moral and economic conditions that were prevalent in England throughout the major part of the nineteenth century. The problems of poverty that William Booth sought to challenge with The Salvation Army and Darkest England Social Scheme had diverse origins and complex causes. This chapter will bring to light the general nature of the problem of the working and lower classes of English society from the years of the Industrial Revolution to the time of formulation of Booth's Social Scheme.

The significant social problems which Booth considered did not begin and spread in a short period of time. Generations were at work in their production. Perhaps the primary cause was the initiation of the Industrial Revolution near the middle of the eighteenth century. This development was characterized by a set of social conditions that carried over through the greater part of the succeeding century and the ministry of William Booth. The impact of inventions, the advancing municipalities, the increase of urban population, and the alteration and interruption of agrarian

life and economy were all factors involved in the creation of the environmental problems of the poor. The change from production in the rural homes to the technological methods of factories of the city brought with it urban congestion, squalor, insanitation, and a general loss of British economic balance. A new class of people—the urban workers and those who sought technical employment—sprang up, but desirable ways of life for them did not keep adequate pace with the technological progress of the city. Seventy-five years later, during the earliest years of Booth's childhood, the general literature still spoke of low wages, high prices, irregular employment, crowded working and living conditions, the dirt, the disease and the social injustice.

Social problems were topics for parliamentary investigations and reports by government boards and charitable agencies. As a rule, the poorer classes of Booth's time were brought up in ignorance. They began working at a very early age. They often worked under crowded conditions, and they spent long hours at their tasks. If they fell into crime, the prisons gave little separation of the juvenile from the hardened criminal. Punishments were brutal; whippings were common. Until a decade before Booth was born, there were two hundred felonies that were punishable by death.

There was probably no more misery among the mass of English people than during the time from 1820 to 1848, the period of William Booth's adolescence. Its later years have been called "the hungry forties." Mills were frequently shut down. Country work was difficult and scarce. Even skilled workmen were often without employment or wages. Eighteen forty-four was the first of the three years of "the railway mania." Eight thousand miles of new line were financed. Fortunes were lost as rapidly as they were gained by speculation in railroad stock. Workers in the midland hosiery trade, if and when employed, were still paid a mere seven shillings a week, and historians have noted the widespread practice of quieting the pangs of hunger by doses of opium. In that same year Engels visited Manchester. There he found a chaos of small one-story, one-room huts, most of which had no artificial floor. The kitchen, living room and sleeping room were all in one. In one such hole, scarcely six feet by five, he found two beds.

These beds, with a staircase and chimney piece, filled the room. All around the doors were refuse and filth.

Nor was this exceptional. In the year that William Booth left his native Nottingham for his London ministry, Charles Kingsley saw the people of Bermondsey with no water to drink except that which they found in the stinking sewer. This was stagnant. It was full of dead fish, cats and dogs. Yet it flowed under their very windows. Is it small wonder that cholera swept London's East End in repeated waves? One such outbreak led a leading Salvationist to declare that the misery of East End life had been exhibited in terms which ought not to have left an intelligent nation to sleep peacefully. The bitter cry of millions of the poor who were living under the shadow of the throne could be heard if one listened. From all appearances not many listened or heard.

For the common man there was one quick way out of such squalor—intoxication. A decade earlier he had been helped in this by his government. Spirits were already being consumed at the rate of twenty-four million gallons per annum. Then a bill was passed so that any person, by taking out an excise license of two guineas, might open a beershop without appearing before the licensing magistrates. When William Booth was ten years of age, over 45,000 *new* beer-sellers had been registered. Brewers' agents toured the country. They supplied the fee of two guineas and provided beer on credit to an Englishman who would convert a room in his house into a beer parlor. In many respects London was reeling toward a fall. "Everybody is drunk," wrote Sidney Smith. "Those who are not singing are sprawling. The sovereign people are in a beastly state." Hand in hand with the drink evil was the depressing associated problem of widespread harlotry of the eighties. Of one hundred fallen women dealt with by the Army during this decade, fourteen blamed drink as the cause of their fall. Twenty-seven blamed bad company. There were whores in Piccadilly who lay prostrated at midnight by continual hemorrhage. There was a college girl turned prostitute who exclaimed, "Do you think I could ever, ever do this if it weren't for the drink? I always have to be in drink if I want to sin." Another girl lay down with a man long enough to be ruined. She was after-

ward ashamed, left home and wandered. After a while she met another, who persuaded her to live with him. Hounded by his own misery, he completely dominated her and turned her out upon the streets to offer her body for a price. Not satisfied with her earnings, he beat her brutally and pounded her head against the wall of their shack. In a rage during her pregnancy "he kicked her black and blue from neck to knees." A pool of blood gathered around her. The baby, a little wad of shapeless substance, was born dead.

The plight of the people who experienced difficulty in adjusting to the environment was attributed either to an act of God or to the operation of a cast-iron economic law with whose workings it was deemed impious and unprofitable to question. Also important was the fact that the city poor had no vote. Lord Grey's Reform Bill of 1832 did satisfy the middle class, but not until 1884 did Gladstone extend the franchise to include most adult males. The poor were given no holidays except Sundays and four annual bank holidays. There were few if any recreation grounds, public libraries and swimming pools.

By the time Booth's Christian Mission had become The Salvation Army, the towns were twice as populous as the countryside. In the first fifty years of Booth's life the population of England increased from 25,500,000 to 37,000,000. A vast mushroom growth filled new cities and towns. Urbanization was rapid, and neither the social nor the religious structure of the areas could swiftly or favorably adapt itself to the change. The self-supporting country workers from the farms of the eighteenth century gave place to a pallid urban proletariat. With the increase and localization of population and little public attention to provide space for it, streets and alleys were narrow. Houses were overcrowded; drainage was bad; the air was impure. In the large manufacturing and commercial cities of Manchester, Birmingham and Liverpool, thousands of families lived in undrained and unventilated cellars. In many parts of London these housing conditions were quite sickening.

The English laws which were passed in the early part of the century set the pattern of the century's public system of poor

relief. This legislation embodied the doctrine of *laissez faire*. It freed the community from any responsibility beyond keeping the destitute alive. The pressure provoked in the competition arising from being "let alone" was to act as the stimulus to cause the unemployed to seek work. Under this *laissez-faire* principle, crime, brutality, turbulence and deep discontent grew rampant among hordes of the people.

Organized religion made little impression upon this mass of moral and material suffering. Many clergy did not even live in their own parishes. In the year of Booth's birth, there were slightly more than ten thousand benefices in the Church of England. A number of these, variously estimated at between 3,500 and 6,000, were held by nonresident incumbents. So far as industrial centers were concerned, the Bishop of London described the immense population within a mile to the east and northeast of St. Paul's as living in a wretched state of destitution and neglect. On an average there was but one church and one clergyman to every eight to ten thousand persons. The Bishop of Rochester observed that Christianity was not in possession in South London. Nor were the provinces better off. To one observer, the Bishop of Durham "had less of the aspect of a Father in God than that of a Chief Magistrate." Another historian states that at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the established church hardly figured in the spiritual life of the districts where mines and factories began to attract vast populations. In most of the places that were turned from rural solitudes into mining camps or textile towns, the church scarcely affected the poor except as "the most unrelenting of the forces of law and order."

If the organization of the national church was so unfitted to meet nineteenth-century needs, there is no lack of testimony that the conduct of the services themselves was as unhelpful. Referring to the early part of the nineteenth century, Gladstone said that services were probably never so debased. To him, "the faculty of taste and the perception of the seemly" were as dead as the spirit of religious devotion. As late as 1873, Liddon wrote of St. Paul's Cathedral: "Every time I reside, the hollowness and mockery of our services strikes me more and more. It must be unspeak-

ably offensive to God. And I know how much it does to produce in the minds of half-believers and unbelievers a conviction that our work is based on hypocrisy and insincerity."

The hypocrisy and insincerity of which Liddon wrote were exemplified in the Oxford Place Chapel at Leeds and in the Methodist New Connection Chapel on Broad Street, which Booth attended. Each had a careful separation of the poor and the middle class. Each in its own way succeeded in an undesirable segregation, which itself was the essence of hypocrisy. The section reserved for pew-holders at Broad Street was entered through the grand portico at the front of the building. The seats of the poor were reached by a back-street door. The pews were cushioned. The benches were bare.

Booth had fertile ground in which to throw his seeds of salvation, for the latter decades of the nineteenth century only extended the great urban and rural distress. In the 1850's agricultural profits diminished to insignificance, and in 1875 there was a severe commercial panic. Moreover, four years later the English harvest failed, and the despondent populace again experienced commercial distress.

By 1890, one-tenth of the London population should have been included in a comprehensive plan of social relief. Booth remembered that the Israelites had set apart one tribe in twelve to minister to the Lord in the service of the Temple. But in Britain one in ten of God's Englishmen were doomed "to the service of the great twin devils—Destitution and Despair."

Through this growing cloud of misery Booth envisioned a brighter hope. Over a period of twenty-five years he had preached in the open air—his voice hoarse from pleading with the passer-by to listen. It was during the decade of the eighties that he became more specifically concerned with those whom he had failed to attract. Armed solely with the words of Christ, he had been unable to give immediate physical solace to the cold and hungry stranger of the street. He was now preparing to provide warm food and shelter and thus more strongly induce the disbeliever to seek his salvation. Therein lay contentment for the mind and lasting comfort for the body.

VI

To the Jaws of Hell

It has already been pointed out that William Booth began his ministry with what might be considered a purely evangelistic agency. From 1865 to the middle of the decade of the eighties he devoted relatively little attention to the problem of relief of temporal misery. Because of this fact, the student is justified in posing the question, "Why did Booth the evangelist become the social worker, or the socio-evangelist?" Developing the answer to that query discloses a variety of significant factors which help one to better appreciate him as a personality of leadership as well as to understand the fundamental reasons underlying his Darkest England proposals.

Thus the Booth of 1890 is seen as a broadly successful preacher of the Gospel who launched his comprehensive social-welfare scheme only after he had won world-wide attention. The scheme itself becomes an effort of one who made an early unsuccessful attempt to become the social worker. It represents Booth's decision to make a "come-back" on the social-welfare scene. It becomes an effort to overcome an early defeat. Booth is revealed as a leader whose social-welfare philosophy matured with a wider evangelistic experience of dealing closely with poor people. In formulating the scheme, Booth reflects his opportunism; he shows himself a dominant but plastic personality that yielded to the

pressure of opinion of personalities who worked under his command. His social scheme becomes another method among many unique methods which he developed to attract men and women to the Cross of Christ. The scheme, far from evidencing Booth's failure with his purely evangelistic appeal, is seen to be firmly rooted in an evangelistic foundation. It finds its fundamental support in the spiritual philosophy that Booth advanced through his lifetime of labor for the poor.

By 1890, Booth had risen from his calling in 1865 as an insignificant unit in the East End of London. Originally he was little distinguishable from any ordinary commonplace Methodists who could be found any day by the score in Whitechapel or Westminster. But in twenty-five years of preaching he had attracted some nine thousand picked men and women to make following him a life's career. These followers, whom he called his "officers," while he was their "General," were for the most part in the flower of their youth and evangelistic zeal. They devoted their entire lives to him, obeyed him implicitly. They lived on meager subsistence wages. They preached and taught the faith of Booth in many different parts of the world.

As an evangelistic preacher Booth had successfully built The Salvation Army out of the poorest elements of the community. From his start on Mile End Waste he had developed the organization of three thousand centers to religious activity. He raised every year no less a sum than 750,000 pounds. He circulated 37,400,000 copies of his literature every year. He had properties in Britain, France, Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, the United States, Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand, Holland, Denmark and South Africa that were valued at 774,618 pounds. His evangelistic workers were holding 49,818 religious meetings weekly. In Great Britain alone Booth boasted that his fighters were on the front lines in 54,000 homes. As a prosperous evangelist with an unflinching belief in the power of Christ, Booth sent his message in twenty-nine different languages to the people of thirty-four different countries and colonies. And each week as he sat in the office of his London headquarters, he received six hundred telegrams and 5,400 letters from his blood-and-fire forces at war with

the Devil around the globe. This is quite a different picture from that presented when he stood in the rain and shouted on Mile End Waste.

The Booth of the sixties and seventies was an evangelist who believed heartily in the efficacy of his evangelism alone in altering the personality patterns and social relationships of the individuals to whom he ministered. He was convinced that "tens of thousands" of the most degraded of his subjects had proved the undeniable value of spiritual means in lifting them out of the "darkest depths of destitution, vice and crime." And this elevation did not necessarily depend for its effectiveness upon the incorporation of temporal assistance.

But in spite of his firm conviction that his spiritual message was sufficient for reforming men, Booth did make an early attempt to supply on a small scale some of the physical needs of his people. This limited activity was in keeping with conventional church procedure. By 1870, when The Christian Mission was five years old, Booth had made an attempt at temporal relief. He undertook the operation of five "food for the million" shops. These shops gave soup and bread, mutton and beef marrow to the needy. But Booth's earliest social-welfare efforts failed. By June, 1877, it had become necessary for him to cease almost entirely to administer physical relief to the poor, and he had referred them to the Charity Organization Society. And as late as 1882, he expressed distrust of social-welfare techniques when he said that tea and clothing provided by the church for the unfortunate made many hypocrites.

There were reasons for his 1877 failure with social-welfare efforts. In spite of his great energy and administrative ability and the number of conscientious men who worked under his command, Booth in the twelve years since 1865 had not developed the compact and efficient military organization that he had established by 1890, the year of the Darkest England Social Scheme. In 1877 he could not effectively oversee the conduct of a social-welfare program. Unforeseen difficulties arose. He had a very limited amount of capital to employ in his food shops. He had trouble in obtaining managers who were sufficiently experienced and skilled and

competent. He could not give enough personal attention to the project. Bramwell stated that "he said to me at the first that unless I could do and manage the business without him he must give it up. Papa has never had time to attend to the matter in any way."

Booth himself at that time was too busy with other problems of his despotic administration. He had to think and organize and direct and hear the problems of his missionaries. His preachers were simple people with limited ability. Sandall says, "The giants of forceful Salvationism who later shared the burdens of leadership with William Booth were not among them. In those early days William Booth was alone at the head of the Army he was making." There was preaching to do. There were sinners to warn of death and the judgment and the fires of Hell. Booth had to hear the woes of the backslider and attract him back to the Cross. He had to write about "holiness," "faith and trust" and "the power and love of the Holy Ghost for men." There were newborn children to dedicate to God. There were funerals for missionaries gone on to their reward. He had to overcome the mocking and physical violence that plagued his workers at Whitechapel and Three Colts Lane, at Poplar and Bethnal Green. There were flags to raise in new areas of Christian Mission effort. Bound as he was to the immediate problems of organization and direction of the evangelistic movement itself, it is not surprising that Booth was unsuccessful in his earliest attempt to administer social relief. But he was not discouraged. He went on with his preaching and singing. Time and experience were to bring him back successfully to the social-welfare scene.

Under the impact of charitable and governmental forces at work throughout the century, poverty during the eighties became recognized generally not merely as a restricted inconvenience to those who were poor. It was also a great social disease which resulted in a complexity of other social diseases. It was realized that drunkenness as a factor in the downfall of men was a consequence of lack of food and necessary fresh air, as well as a cause of poverty. There developed a deeper appreciation of the interrelation of physical, economic and moral evils. For both the working and middle classes the period between 1880 and 1889 was

one of searching of heart and of stimulus to broad and more critical thinking. Booth himself, during this period, became more conscious of the complexity of conditions involved in the degradation and destitution of men. He came to fit more comfortably into the social-welfare sentiment of the decade. This was simply a reflection of Booth's growth toward a better understanding of the conditions of life through his longer experience of close contact with temporal problems of the poor. It was in 1884, seven years after the failure of his food shops, that he began his return to the social-welfare scene. By 1890 he had arrived. He began his return when he established rescue homes for the poor. He arrived when he gave his *In Darkest England* to all the world.

The Darkest England Social Scheme of The Salvation Army is best appreciated as resulting from environmental pressures and the coercion of personalities who worked under Booth. The whole development of his Army was in response to the environmental evidence in society of a social need for religion. Booth responded to that need and founded The Salvation Army. In the development of the Army under his dominant personality Booth many times reflected his plasticity to the coercive opinions of those with whom he worked. A number of early vital decisions were made under this circumstance. For example, it was the influence of Catherine Booth which precipitated his withdrawal from the Methodists. It was his submission to the invitation of the little band of sidewalk speakers in 1865 which made him leader of the Mission that became the Army. It was the pressure of Bramwell Booth and Railton which caused him to seek autocracy as a means of governing his movement. And in no better way is the plasticity of Booth's autocratic personality revealed than in the evolution of the social scheme of The Salvation Army in 1890. Since Booth had made an early effort at social relief and failed, it is doubtful if he would have turned his Army again into social-welfare channels had it not been for the pressure of the officers who worked under his command.

By the early eighties Booth's workers with their drums and uniforms and *War Cry's* had made an indelible impression upon the public mind of Britain and other lands. They continued dealing

with the lowest social and moral groups of the population. They came to Booth and reported on their experiences. They found it impossible to look upon people who were starving, wrongdoers and criminals, and learn their secret histories, "which showed how closely a great proportion of human sin is connected with wretched surroundings," without giving more attention to the "social" as well as the "religious" appeal to their salvation. Accordingly, Booth agreed to begin a small effort in rescue homes in 1884. He sanctioned special police and court work in 1887 and food and shelter depots in 1888. He placed Frank Smith, one of his commissioners, over this particular branch of activities. Smith, from the very beginning of these social efforts, believed that the organization of The Salvation Army could be used effectively in a program of large-scale relief.

But even after establishing rescue homes and food and shelter depots and hearing the encouraging reports of Frank Smith, Booth did not see his way clear to undertake a broad program of temporal relief. He admitted the need, but he was uneasy. In the late eighties, he summoned a Council of War at headquarters to see if anything more were advisable. Nothing practical was arrived at.

After the Council had met he heard of a small co-operative association or co-partnership on the part of some converted thieves who had been saved at one of the food and shelter depots. Booth sent for the men. The seven ex-thieves paid him a visit. Their simple story of deliverance from a life of crime and their brotherly efforts to aid each other filled him with a new hope.

Then someone lent him a copy of Herbert Mill's *Home Colonization*. Booth was immensely impressed. Here, it seemed to him, was daylight. But when he saw Mr. Mills and heard from him that such a scheme as appeared in the book must be tried with the pick of the laboring class and would require 25,000 pounds to settle two hundred families on the land, Booth felt that this way of escape was closed.

Two other books fell into his hands. These were Rees's *From Poverty to Plenty* and E. T. Craig's *History of a Co-operative Farm*. Booth took them, and with their aid he devised in his mind a three-fold plan of deliverance—the city colony, the farm colony

and the colony overseas. This three-fold method of dealing with the submerged tenth seemed to be to him the best way out of temporal misery. The longer he thought about it and talked over the matter with Smith and the other workers, the more he became convinced that he had found the answer to the problem. And Smith continued emphasizing the valuable experience and success of the short history of his slum work and food and shelter depots. Smith was encouraged. Booth was coming back to the temporal scene of poverty with the force of an even greater Army behind him.

In 1889 the London dock strike occurred—approximately one year before the appearance of Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. During the strike more than 75,000 men stopped work in order to obtain higher and less fluctuating wages. These 75,000 only increased the social burden of the workless masses of London. Now Frank Smith expanded the efforts of the food depots. He attracted the strikers along with hundreds of others. He gave them soup and soap. He told them the glad tidings of salvation. The magnitude of this undertaking was the climax to the small social effort begun with rescue homes in 1884.

Then Booth thought of the story of the thieves. He remembered the books of Mills, Rees, and Craig. He recalled his own prayers for Divine aid. There were always the reassuring remarks of Smith and his social officers. The success of the effort to care for the strikers on a comprehensive scale was the last link in the chain of events convincing him of the advisability of social welfare. Then he set to work to bring out the book with which all England rang in 1890.

In following the advice of Smith and his subordinate workers, Booth's formulation of the comprehensive social scheme demonstrated again his effort to find unusual methods of attracting the people to the Saviour's Cross. Booth must be recognized and remembered as an advertiser, a showman, a nonconformist, one who could arouse favorable and unfavorable public comment, an egoist, restless in the bonds of convention. The restless character of his personality was reflected in the great variety of unconventional activities with which he sought to arrest people to the

sound of his message. There were marching, flags, titles, colloquial preaching, red-hot fire-and-brimstone religion, bands, bonnets, clapping, shouting, placards. In the early days of his ministry he had announced his arrival in a strange place with signs that said:

THE GENERAL OF THE HALLELUJAH ARMY IS COMING TO
WHITBY TO REVIEW THE TROOPS. GREAT BATTLES WILL
BE FOUGHT.

And his workers had invaded new lands with banners:

BOMBARDMENT AND SHELLING OF HECKMONDWIKE.
TROOPS WILL ARRIVE ON SATURDAY NIGHT. FIRST BOM-
BARDMENT ON SUNDAY MORNING. FIRST VOLLEY FIRED
AT SOUND OF BUGLE AT 10:00 A.M.

A circular would tell the people:

GREAT BATTLES WILL BE FOUGHT ON SAND HILL
WAR CHARIOTS AND TEN MOUNTED GUNS
RED-HOT SHOTS WILL BE FIRED NEAR THE MARKET HALL

These sensational methods caused the religious conformists to stand by and take critical notice, for they were not accustomed to rowdy methods of religious warfare. But Booth's methods brought the poor—whom he wanted most—to hear him. And with the Darkest England Scheme he was to lift other unconventional signs:

NO HOMELESS OR DESTITUTE MAN WHO IS WILLING TO
WORK NEED BEG, STEAL, STARVE, SLEEP OUT AT NIGHT,
BE A PAUPER OR COMMIT SUICIDE.

Apply at any time at the City Colony Headquarters,
21-22 Whitechapel Road, E.

The social scheme that Booth began to formulate in the eighties and that flowered in the decade of the nineties became simply another method put into operation for attracting men to an evangelistic message. The scheme should fall into line with the horn and the cymbal, the placard and the sidewalk service, as a characteristic and unique Salvation Army approach. Perhaps no

more weight should be given to the Darkest England Social Scheme in accounting for the success of The Salvation Army than to the flying of its flags or the throbbing rhythm of its big bass drums.

The social scheme as finally developed rested upon the organizational stability of The Salvation Army. The Salvation Army was rooted in the firm strength of evangelistic teachings. These teachings were given to the people by William Booth. Booth felt that they emanated from Christ. There was first a Christian message, then an Army built around the Christian message. Finally, a great social-welfare scheme grew out of the experiences of that Army. Thus, the nuclear core of Salvation Army social service becomes spiritual. Booth said emphatically that in proposing to add one more to the methods he had already developed to the end of saving the perishing crowds he did not want it supposed that he was in the least dependent upon the old evangelistic plans or that he sought anything short of the old spiritual goal—the remaking of the heart of the individual.

For Booth the environmental forces and the personal coercion that prompted him to formulate the Darkest England Social Scheme were merely parts of a great Divine plan. They were simply pieces of the Divine pattern that God had laid down as His mission for the salvation of men. Booth was inspired. He knew he was divinely called when in 1890 he threw himself with bountiful energy into the matter before him. He pushed off into the great ocean of social life—the sea of real, actual human existence found in the east of London and in destitute areas of other parts of the world. He saw more clearly the sorry social plight of men not only as the result of spiritual insecurity but also as a prominent cause of that spiritual condition. In the distance he heard the echoing of the wrath of God. The heavenly Father was agonized and growing exhausted with man's inhumanity to man. There were "multitudes of shrieking, struggling people in a stormy sea." There were "thousands and thousands of harlots and harlot-makers, of drunkards and drunkard-makers, of thieves and liars and blasphemers of every kindred, tongue and nation."

Booth shouted loud the battle cry. He lifted higher his banner of blood and fire. He gave the charge to his soldiers. They must confidently face the social foe which loomed so mighty before them. They must unreservedly answer the call of their God. They must struggle to save the dying multitudes from a terrible doom of economic and spiritual damnation. God's voice could be heard "above the music and machinery and the hue and cry of life." That voice called on Booth's rescued to come and help Him save the world. The sea of social maladjustment was crowded with sinful souls. Oh, how true this awful observation—as true as the Bible, as true as the Christ who hung on the Cross, as true as the judgment, and as true as the Heaven and Hell which follow it.

This was no time for lingering on the banks to merely think and sing and pray. These poor neglected souls! His soldiers must lay aside their shame, their pride, their care about the opinions of others, their love of ease and all the selfish loves that might have hindered. They must rush into the highways and the hedges to find and to save the lost. The light had broken upon their minds; the call had sounded in their ears. A beckoning finger was now out before them. "To go down among the perishing crowds is your duty." The happiness of his soldiers henceforth would consist of sharing greater misery; ease would come from sharing worse pain; crowns for sharing social crosses; Heaven for going to the very jaws of Hell to rescue England's poor.

VII

A Survey for Christ

In its broadest sense a social survey may be described as "a first-hand investigation, analysis, and co-ordination of economic, sociological, and other related aspects of a selected community or group." The social scheme of The Salvation Army developed such a survey. William Booth conducted a first-hand investigation through his own efforts and those of his officers. He determined the economic and social conditions of the poor, primarily of The Darkest England community on the East Side of London.

A social survey may be undertaken primarily in order to gather materials scientifically upon which social theorists may base their conclusions. Such a survey method gained prominence through the work of the French sociologist, Frédéric Le Play, in the middle of the nineteenth century. This method has resulted in a variety of sociological literature and has had a marked influence in the field of social welfare. William Booth's social survey differed from the Le Play type in that Booth was interested in more than an accumulation of data. The purpose of Booth's survey was to formulate a program for ameliorating the life conditions of a particular group of the population. This kind of survey, slanted toward immediate practical purposes, had its inception in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the

work of Charles Booth (who, incidentally, was not related to William Booth).

The student of modern social work is familiarized early in his training with the classical *Life and Labour of the People in London* by Charles Booth. This statistician was aroused by the depressing revelations of London poverty. With a selected staff of workers he undertook an extensive field investigation. He used all available sources of information in the community of London that would throw light not only on the income, working conditions, housing, health, living standards and leisure activities of the working classes but also on the effects of education and administration and religion upon the poor.

In many respects William Booth may be considered as carrying further the practical, ameliorative social survey that was advocated by Charles Booth. William Booth laid down a specific scheme to ameliorate the conditions of the poor. He used Charles Booth's statistical study of East London to support his conclusions about the needs of the unfortunate. He recognized Charles Booth as the best authority on the number of the destitute. For William Booth the *Life and Labour in London* was the only book available which attempted a comprehensive statistical treatment of the destitute population. And as was true with Charles Booth, so William Booth considered in his ameliorative survey the effects of religion, administration and economic conditions toward the production of the submerged tenth of England.

With the expanding interests of his growing maturity as an evangelist, Booth, in 1890, joined the ranks of a number of predecessors and contemporaries in arousing the people further to specific social and economic injustices of their time. Thoroughly impressed with the restless discontent of the decade of the eighties, especially that growing out of the dock strike of 1889, Booth believed that he could organize and channel the energy of that dissatisfaction into a proper course of action by taking hold of the people and showing them what to do. From his work with the needy through a ministry of twenty-five years, Booth became more than the talking evangelist. The situation was much as if he trans-

formed his plea from the purely theoretical to a more comprehensive spiritual practice as well as theory.

As a surveyor of the social injustices that surrounded his fellow Englishmen, Booth was not hampered in his work by fatalistic feelings of the biological determinist. Nor was he restricted in his thoughts by the geographical limits of the East End of London. In his social investigation Booth remained the optimist. He believed that from the utmost to the uttermost his Master could save suffering and sinning mankind. He was no objective social scientist. Booth was the "charismatic leader" dealt with by Max Weber. He had a vision; he had a mission. All of his conclusions about the social problem were drawn up with that view always before him. He felt a calling to give emotional drive, personal symbolism, and dogmatic fanaticism to spearhead his social-welfare program. He must rightly be considered a versatile and aggressive propagandist for Christ in an attempt to realize the kingdom of God for men.

In terms of the modern approach to social work, any discussion of William Booth as a social surveyor must direct attention to his investigation and interpretation of the social problem which he studied. He first made an orderly investigation of that problem. He crystallized his knowledge of the actual social condition and the needs of the poor of the East End of London, that area in which he had found his destiny of evangelistic service. A study of his presentation of the problem and the thought and method that he directed toward its solution reveals him throughout as the fundamental evangelist with a deep knowledge of the Gospel standards. He surveyed the conditions around him in terms of their conformity or lack of conformity to the principles of Christ's ideal of the brotherhood of men.

Booth used an early sociological approach in describing the cause of the social problem. With the biologist Herbert Spencer, he considered English society a biological organism that had become diseased. The largeness of the city was the disease itself. The massing of the population had caused the physical bulk of the organism to outgrow its intelligence. Society, like a human

being, had suddenly developed fresh limbs. These were not connected by any nervous pathways with the gray matter of the brain. Parts of the limbs could cry out in injury and arouse no response. East London cried out. But there was no central intelligence to offer an ameliorative response. Booth with his Army wanted now to become that intelligence, that central co-ordinating and responding authority.

It is significant to note that Le Play's enlarging devotion to a study of social problems sprang in large part from his observations and knowledge of various industrial depressions. These conditions he observed during summer travel in many countries of Western Europe. The social conditions noted while he remained within these areas resulted in the formulation of his popular work-family-place hypothesis. William Booth was similarly influenced by the general depressions of his century. He referred to the impressions gained when in his boyhood the many stockingers of his native Nottingham wandered "gaunt and hunger-stricken" through the streets. Throughout his manhood the air had been filled with the cries of the masses. Their needs were adequately satisfied by neither church, business, nor government. He kept the economic problem constantly before him as he entered into the field of social investigation. Like Le Play, whose social teachings were a composite of impressions from various places, Booth considered primarily the life conditions of paupers around him in London, and he supplemented these observations with reports of the impressions of his workers in many countries, not only of Europe but of all the world.

When he defined the social problem, when he outlined its causes, when he determined its numerical extent, and when he developed the structural mechanics of his scheme of redemption, Booth directed special attention to the economic difficulties of the people. He partially defined his problem as the lack of work for two general groups. The first economic group consisted of those who had no capital or income of their own. These would die of sheer starvation if they were exclusively dependent upon the money earned by their own labor. The second group comprised those

who, by exerting themselves, were able to acquire only the regular allowance of food which the law prescribed as necessary even for incarcerated criminals.

In addition to the economic aspects of his problem, there was a decided lack of effective religious influences among the groups and individuals who were economically poverty-stricken. Much of Booth's social work was planted in the inadequacies of conventional religious practice. Booth believed that his Army would function very successfully in strengthening the character and morale of the poor through religious teachings, and thus would mend wounds permitted by less aggressive Christian bodies.

Booth considered the general social problem as one of unemployment, drunkenness, starvation, mental disease, filth, hypocrisy, displacement, homelessness, prostitution and criminality. Drunkenness itself was at the root of nine-tenths of the social evil. In the definition of his problem as well as in the proposals for its solution, Booth brought special attention to the need of the individual as well as the need of the group. He felt that the social problem presented itself before society whenever a hungry, dirty and ragged stranger stood at a door asking if that society would give him a crust or a job. "That is the social question. . . ."

As the social surveyor, Booth was able to understand the nature and extent of the social problem by use of data and impressions accumulated by different sociological techniques. He employed five techniques of the modern social worker in his study: (a) citations of the work of others, (b) population estimates, (c) personal observation, (d) the interview, and (e) the case history. These will each be developed in the following discussion.

Booth logically cited the interest and work of others who had regarded the problem of the poor. He lived in a century of problems, but with the problems there were efforts and sentiments designed to relieve them. There is no objectivity in painting a dreadful picture of life in nineteenth-century England unless recognition is given to efforts toward creation of the brighter side. For all of Booth's lifetime men had been interested in the problem of England's poor.

While Booth reveled in the crocuses of his Nottingham child-

hood and preached the Wesleyan doctrines of his early ministry, there were publications that were directed to the nature of the problem of the workingman and the poor. Charles Kingsley and Frederick D. Maurice were instrumental in the publication of the *Christian Socialist*, an early newspaper devoted to social reform. Booth preached at a time when radical newspapers were circulated weekly. Among titles expressing the sentiment of the period were *The Poor Man's Guardian*, *The Destructive and Poor Man's Conservative*, *the Working Man's Friend*, *The Man*, *The Crisis* and *The Reformer*. Edwin Chadwick presented his *Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population*. Friedrich Engels gave *The Condition of the Working Class in England*. Significant during the decade of the eighties, when William Booth began a serious consideration of his own life as a social worker, the weekly newspapers *Justice* and *Social Democrat* appeared.

The "Fabian Tracts" of the Fabian Society were also presented at this time. Their appearance was an event of great importance in the history of contemporary socialism. The Fabian studies in economics exercised a remarkable influence upon modern social and political movements. George Bernard Shaw, most famous perhaps for the quality and variety of his satirical plays, must also be remembered as the editor of the tracts of the Fabian Society. Shaw became converted to socialism under the influence of Henry George, whose *Progress and Poverty* had an immense vogue in England during the time of William Booth. After hearing Henry George, Shaw had realized the significance of the workingman and the economic basis of society. He followed this realization by joining the Fabians. From the beginning of his career as a Fabian he became intimately acquainted with many social reformers, notably Sydney Webb and Beatrice Potter. He labored unremittingly for the betterment of the poorer classes and the improvement of industry. It is not surprising, therefore, that Shaw was thoroughly impressed with the proposals of Booth's Darkest England Scheme. His vehement opposition to Booth's approach to the problem of poverty must not be overlooked in any effort to evaluate William Booth as a social reformer.

Economic theorists who had looked at Booth's social prob-

lem had cautioned that plans for their removal should be based on the population teachings of Malthus or on the iron law of wages of Ricardo. Others in the clubs and pubs of London felt that the Darwinian theory of natural selection and the survival of the fittest would in time remove the burden.

Ideas on the establishment of colonies for aiding the down-trodden could be found in the work of Robert Owen, who had lived and thought half a century before Booth. Canon Samuel Barnett and Arnold Toynbee had made an effort to bring attention to the problem of poverty. Charles Kingsley was touched by the plight of the chimney sweep. Ruskin was impressed with the lot of those who worked in conditions of squalor in industrial areas. Undesirable factors of life in the factory during the time of Booth's ministry caused Lord Shaftesbury to demand legislation. George Cadbury removed slum conditions in some areas. Various workers attacked the sweatshop of the English workingman. Homeless orphans were taken in by Dr. Bernardo and George Muller.

There were notable religious workers, also. The godly and fruitful work of such men as Keble, Samuel Wilberforce and Robertson of Brighton must be remembered. J. C. Millar, rector of Birmingham, had revived the custom of open-air preaching. Archbishop Tait, when Bishop of London, defied convention by speaking to costermongers at Covent Gardens, to omnibus drivers in their yard at Islington, and to the gypsies on Shepherd's Bush Common. The work of Charles Simeon still inspired the evangelical wing of the Church of England. The life and death of Henry Martyn added fuel to the missionary fires that were kindled by Carey. Nor should it be forgotten that in Scotland religious principles were still held so tenaciously that in 1843 Thomas Chalmers could attract 470 ministers to follow him in giving up kirk, manse, teinds and glebe to form a "free" church. The chapels which the Methodists had begun to build in 1739 were still well attended.

Forty years before Booth's time Thomas Carlyle had described the mass of working hosts who were mutinous, confused and driven nearly mad. Le Play, Booth's contemporary, had called

the attention of French social reformers for a clean sweep in both the moral and the economic realms.

During the last fifteen years of his life, Professor Thomas Henry Huxley, the biologist best known for his advocacy of the Darwinian principle, was involved in a personal campaign against orthodox beliefs. By the time William Booth had developed his social-welfare program around the teachings of Christ, Huxley had rejected Christianity bodily on the grounds that the precise nature of the teachings and convictions of Jesus was extremely uncertain. In line with this personal feeling, Huxley became a violent opponent of the philosophy of William Booth. Huxley's writings and his statements to the press became vital factors in the progress and early development of the social-relief program of The Salvation Army. Huxley looked at Booth's present English society as he looked at all societies. It was a great fermenting mass with its scum at the top and its dregs at the bottom. But Huxley felt that intelligence properly directed ought to be able to do something toward curbing the instincts of savagery that were finding expression in English society. Huxley agreed with Booth that harlotry, intemperance and starvation were sore evils and hard to bear or even to think of.

The Settlement Movement, the Association of All Classes and All Nations, and the Communist League helped to direct interest toward the problems of the unfortunate. The same may be said of the Social Democratic Federation. The Christian motive that characterized the East London Special Services Committee, the Evangelization Society, the Midnight Meeting Movement, and the Ragged School Movement was instrumental in cultivating this spirit of concern.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century there were various "factory acts" that were designed to relieve miseries of factory workmen. From the fifties to the seventies, significant advances were made toward assisting these laborers. In 1858, the Public Health Act was passed. Metropolitan poor funds were created in 1867, and asylum boards were set up. The poor were no longer imprisoned for debt after 1869. The organizations of

workingmen who had formed themselves into unions were recognized as legal bodies by the Trade Unions Act of 1871. The Artisans' Dwelling Act enabled the corporations of large towns to claim homes for compulsory sale to improve sanitary conditions. The Employers' Liability Act appeared in 1880. This established the liability of the employer for accidents to workmen in cases of defective machinery, negligence of a person in authority, or an act or omission through obedience to rules set up by the employer.

Booth was conscious of the work of his contemporaries and made specific citation of their efforts. He studied the Report of the Royal Commission of the Housing of the Poor and the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Sweating. He also gave attention to Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* and *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*. He referred to Count Rumford's effort to abolish beggary in Bavaria. He used extracts from Thomas Carlyle's *Past and Present*. He appreciated the feelings of the Catholic Church on the social question.

William Booth was one of many men to make a name for posterity during this century of problems. There were many individual workers whose records have followed them. These men functioned as individuals, however not with ideas of generals commanding armies of obedient and aggressive Christian followers.

Booth referred specifically to the work of others when he studied figures from the prison returns and the estimates arrived at as a result of the social work of Lord Brabazon, Samuel Smith, Chamberlain and Giffen. These workers were especially interested in determining the numerical extent of the problem of poverty.

He cited the Poor Laws, charity programs, emigration, education, trade-unionism, co-operation and thrift as expounded by other workers as a means of alleviating the miseries of the poor. He commented upon the ideas on taxation of Henry George, the nationalism of Edward Bellamy, the natural selection of Charles Darwin, collectivism and socialism as approaches to the problem. He considered the convictions of utopians and described the work of conventional religious people.

Le Play had considered the activities of church groups upon the problem of the poor. He had felt that there was a delicate moral sentiment expressed by the interest of the church in the workingman's problems. Booth made a vigorous attack upon the coldness of the work of the church, for he felt that conventional church Christians with a selfish lack of aggression resulted in failure to relieve the burden of the poverty-stricken in the East End.

Another technique employed by Booth in the investigation of his problem was that of population estimates of various economic classes among the total group whom he wished to help. For example, in arriving at his total figure of the needy he referred to (1) the estimates of the Mansion House Committee on Unemployment in 1888, (2) the industrial census of Charles Booth, and (3) the estimates of other workers; these estimates ranged from 1,800,000 to 4,500,000. Booth felt that his plan of redemption should be designed to reach an estimated 3,000,000 poor people immediately.

He also made personal observations of his problem. He observed Christian programs that were designed to aid the poor. He expressed his opinion on what he considered the fatalistic attitudes underlying proposed solutions to the problem. He had seen great church parades to the Abbey and to St. Paul's and bivouacs in Trafalgar Square as workers sought to bring attention to the needs of workmen and the poor. He observed the activity of the press with pictures of "horrible Glasgow." There were "several volumes" describing how the poor lived. He saw a disgusting multitude of drunkards over a long period of time. He commented on the loss that he felt they caused society.

A vital technique which Booth used extensively was the personal interview. Data from the contact of Salvation Army officers with individuals who worked, for example, as confectioners, odd-jobbers, banker workers, builders and laborers were included in his description of the problem. Records obtained from interviewing a displaced husband, wife, child and servant were a part of these data. The interview brought out the age of the client, his place of residence, time spent in London, military status, type of

employment, earnings, kind of food the subject was able to obtain, and sleeping conditions.

William Booth also made wide use of the case-history technique, both in outlining the problem and in predicting the success of The Salvation Army in its solution. He presented cases which showed the results of continued contact and study of the individual by Salvation Army officers involved in the small-scale social work which he had begun in the latter 1880's. Histories of work with the homeless, the starving, the prostitute, the drunkard and others were included. The case history in general brought out the efficacy of the Salvationists' appeal and the techniques of Booth's workers in aiding the client to realize an altered pattern of social habits and a life of industry over a life of prodigality. It has been shown that it was such satisfactory results which his workers believed they were realizing from small-scale social work in the late 1880's and during the dock strike of 1889 that helped persuade Booth to contemplate the expanded social work of the final decade of the century.

The interview and case-history techniques were not original with Booth. They had originated in the work of Thomas Chalmers of Glasgow and Frederick Ozamaon of Paris. These men were struck by the plight of the poor who became their clients. They had as far back as the 1830's introduced methods of individualization and investigation, record-keeping and supervision. Out of their efforts had come during the century the "social case work" method of studying and treating social and industrial maladjustment. Also growing out of their work were criteria and standards of educational preparation of personnel. Booth followed their example: He gave individual attention to the client. He suggested specialized methods of Salvation Army treatment. He set up his own standards of educational preparation for his social workers.

William Booth's various techniques of investigation enabled him to arrive at two general causes of the problem. These were reciprocally active. They may be called (*a*) environmental and (*b*) individual. The necessity of considering both the environment and the individual within that environment in any adequate social scheme was brought out specifically when he said that he saw the "folly of trying to accomplish anything abiding . . .

except there be a change in the whole man as well as in his surroundings."

This environment reflected a great cultural lag. During the period since the Industrial Revolution the nonmaterial culture of England had not adjusted adequately to the material changes. The new city worker who had been bred on the farm had not adapted himself to the congested mechanics of urban London. The family group had become victim of the urbanization and had in too many cases fallen apart. The young people were uprooted. No stable moral teaching effectually attracted and held the people. The social organism as a whole was consequently burdened with specific units of its makeup that were without intelligent control. The material cultural additions in industry, commerce, transportation and communication had led to a people whose ways of thinking and whose needs of life had lost the godliness of the farm and the warmth and friendliness of the country fireside.

Le Play had recognized the effects of the loss of rural populations to the city, the interruption of moral ties of the family and the loss of the patriarchal family type in the creation of the undesirable environments which he studied. Suffering for Le Play appeared in both agricultural and commercial societies. Urbanization and industrialization had brought about disruptive changes in his family types. This disorganization had spread from country to country and from urban to rural districts. The social processes of Western Europe had been subjected to such change as to result in broken family mores and authority. The total population, particularly the urban, came more and more to rely on complicated mechanics and involved organization as a means of satisfying human desires.

Booth saw a similar growing complexity as he spoke of the London of 1890 as compared with the towns he knew as a boy. Urbanization had loosened family ties and prevented normal marital relations. Whether Booth detected suffering in rural areas or not, these areas were the mecca of his counter-migration. A fundamental idea underlying Booth's plan of redemption was that of realization of a great agricultural ideal. There was little danger of social contamination in the small-town atmosphere with the fresh air and bright sunlight of the country. Huxley, in thinking

of the size of the town, felt that in the struggle for life in society the larger cities such as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham and Glasgow might be safely left to do as they saw fit. Smaller towns in their attack on problems of men provided less discussion by competent people of different ways of thinking. The higher and more complex the organization of the social body the more closely the life of each member was bound up with that of the whole. But in a densely populated manufacturing country, struggling for existence with competitors, every ignorant person tended to become a burden and an infringer upon the liberty and success of his fellows.

In his survey of the environment Booth felt that many of his subjects had been born into a poisoned atmosphere and educated in circumstances that made desirable social habits an impossibility. They were spending their lives in conditions which made vice second nature. He felt that favorable circumstances would not change a man's nature but that unpropitious circumstances might render it absolutely impossible for one to escape, no matter how he might desire to extricate himself. He quoted Charles Kingsley on the effects of environmental conditions leading youth into an undesirable social life:

Our daughters with base-born babies
Have wandered away in their shame;
If your misses had slept, Squire,
Where they did,
Your misses might do the same.

Individual weakness with personal inability to "climb unaided out of the whirlpool onto the rock of deliverance" was a prominent cause of the social problem. Booth felt that in many individuals the "decisiveness of character, that moral nerve which takes hold of the rope thrown for the rescue," was wanting. Le Play had similarly appreciated variations in the moral strength of individuals. There were some men who were able to elevate themselves to the rank of factory-owner or an equivalent status. But even after this move upward, they often lacked the moral stamina to make a success of the business.

Huxley recognized this individual difference in ability among men in society. He believed that both the internal and the external interests of men should be in the hands of those who were endowed with the greatest energy, industry, intellectual capacity and tenacity of purpose. He felt that, as time passed and the natural struggle of men against men and against circumstances tended to place this class in possession of wealth and influence, progress for society would result.

Booth recognized a lack of effectiveness of forces that sought to modify undesirable environmental influences. He felt that the available physical facilities governed by the Poor Laws could not handle the problem adequately. He believed that organized charity in England in 1890 was no remedy. Jail and prison were punitive and only punitive. Emigration had done little to improve the circumstances. Education for the masses was ineffective. He felt that trade-unionism was not good because it was not extensive enough to enable great number of workers to profit from such association. Co-operation was hampered by the wage system in vogue. Thrift was not helpful for those who possessed nothing. The taxation proposals of Henry George and the nationalism advocated by Edward Bellamy lacked general value. The elaborate schemes of the collectivists were not immediately practicable. The idea of the survival of the fittest with elimination of the unfit required too long a time for its realization; the same was true of the redistribution of wealth. Socialistic ideals of revolution would not alleviate the burden. Utopians and conventional religious people had also failed to produce a desirable environment or to make life bearable for the individual sufferer. When he thought of approaching the problem, he understood that there were those who were inhibited toward modifying the environment by the plague of fatalism. They would be prevented in their plan for altering the environment by an ingrained belief in predestined progress that would unfold in time. Else they were prohibited from action by a fear rooted in a permanent belief in inevitable disaster, and so they shut their eyes to the cries of the poor about them.

Booth summarized his causes of the social problem in his feeling that the individual subjects who composed the great dark-

ness of London's East End were put there by their own weakness and by the poisoned atmosphere of the environment. The forces of a good God and an evil Devil were at war for the souls of men, and God, lacking true followers, was losing men daily into the pits of Hell. Enforcements which He required were not found in quantity. According to Huxley, the extremes of social pleasure and displeasure were merely parts of a great competition. They resulted from a practical competitive examination for satisfaction of human drives. Those in the struggle who were not in the darkness at the bottom in squalid obscurity and criminality had merely won a standing in the natural war of living beings that made them rich and influential and selfishly secure.

An essential step in Booth's survey of the social problem was his analysis of its extent. He (*a*) classified the subjects who made up his 3,000,000 clientele, (*b*) enumerated each class, and (*c*) outlined their arrangement into three circular areas or zones.

The subjects who were to originally benefit from The Salvation Army's social-welfare service were arranged into ten major classes. These were—

1. Loafers, including inmates of workhouses, asylums and hospitals.
2. Homeless, including loafers, casual workers and some criminals.
3. Starving, whose earnings were between 18 shillings and nothing.
4. Very poor, with intermittent earnings from 18 to 21 shillings per week.
5. "Indoor" paupers and lunatics (excluding criminals).
6. Individuals who were dependent upon the criminal, lunatic and other classes.
7. The helpless people of the class immediately above the houseless and starving.
8. Prisoners, including those in convict prisons, local prisons, reformatories, and industrial schools, and criminal lunatics.
9. Drunkards.
10. Prostitutes.

As far back as biblical times there were recorded various enumerations of population, but only in reference to the wealth or fighting strength of a state. Studies of population received more emphasis with the investigations of Petty and Graunt and the later efforts of Gregory King at the end of the seventeenth century. In the middle part of the eighteenth century Johann Peter Süssmilch studied and contrasted city and country populations. He attempted to prove certain theological speculations by using statistical findings. Many of the nineteenth-century workers who sought to arouse attention in the problem of the poor made extensive use of population bases to support their convictions as to what should be done in a rational philanthropic approach. William Booth may be characterized as such a social surveyor.

Study of Booth's method of enumerating the extent of the needy discloses a lack of population and sampling methods that are popular as sociological techniques today. One encounters, scattered through Booth's discussion of the magnitude of poverty, expressions such as the following:

If we estimate the number of the poorest class . . . the following is the result. . . . If destitution existed everywhere in East London proportions . . . But let us suppose that the East London rate is double the average for the rest of the country. . . . Add to this the number of indoor paupers . . . and we have an army of nearly two millions. . . . To this must be added the more or less helpless. . . . This brings my total to . . . roughly one-tenth of the population. . . .

Words and expressions of these excerpts—"estimate," "if," "suppose," nearly," more or less," and "roughly"—justify the conclusion that the accuracy of Booth's numerical conclusions was questionable and based largely upon his personal estimates and suppositions. With this understanding of the nature of his population techniques, the student may better appreciate his numerical summary in the table on the following page.

CLASS	NUMBER IN UNITED KINGDOM	WILLIAM BOOTH'S METHOD OF DETERMINATION
1. Houseless: loafers, criminals and some casuals	165,500	(a) Reference to industrial census of Charles Booth (b) William Booth's personal estimates and suppositions
2. Starving: casual earning or chronic want	1,550,000	(a) Reference to industrial census of Charles Booth (b) William Booth's personal estimates and suppositions
(Total Houseless and Starving)	(1,715,500)	
3. In workhouses, asylums, etc.	190,000	Undetermined origin
4. Prisoners	56,136	Reference to prison returns
5. Indoor paupers and lunatics	78,966	Undetermined origin
6. Those dependent upon the criminal, lunatic, and other classes, plus the more or less helpless of the class immediately above the houseless and starving	1,000,000	William Booth's personal estimates and suppositions
Total Darkest England Population	3,040,602	

Booth was content to take 3,000,000 as the total strength of the "destitute army." His lack of accurate population conclusions may be understood by considering the work of Charles Booth, who said that his own methods were open to criticism from many points of view. He felt that exactness was out of the question. He said that at every turn the subject of poverty in London bristled with doubtful points. He had, however, sought the best available solution when such doubtful points arose, for he recognized that a slight bias might lead to serious error. Ervine said that during Booth's time discussion on unemployment had to be conducted on estimated figures. The disparity between the statements made by eminent statisticians is remarkable and varied according to the subject of propaganda.

The analyses of Le Play had been limited to the working class, which Le Play felt constituted 95 per cent of the population. The welfare of this number explained the condition of the remaining 5 per cent. He substituted "working" or "laboring" classes for the term "lowest classes." He recognized five types of European workers. These included the prosperous workers, successful families, and families that had fallen and were numbed and crumbling under the impact of agents of a disorganized social structure. Booth was similarly conscious of classes. He listed his classes as "the upper crust" and "the submerged tenth." The former was not subdivided, but there was an "aristocracy among the poor." He directed little attention to prosperous workers and successful families. He kept his mind upon the "haves" and the "have-nots."

Booth divided the three million subjects of Darkest England into three related circular areas or zones. There was an innermost area and an outermost area. Between these two a middle area was envisioned. These areas were continually expanding and contracting because of population mobility. High birth rates and high death rates were found in each one. Inhabitants of the outermost area were honest but poor. The people in the middle area lived by vice. The inhabitants of the innermost area were occupied with crime. Inhabitants of all the areas were sodden with drink. The boundaries between the areas was not sharply defined. The death

of a breadwinner, a continual illness, or a failure in the city would bring into the outermost area people who believed themselves immune from poverty and drunkenness.

The human groupings thus delimited were provided social intercourse by evil public houses. These offered a temporary relief from miserable home conditions and also gave shelter to the homeless and hungry who wandered in the streets. If groups or individuals of the lowest tenth of the British population who lived within the three areas contacted the lower or higher elements of the remaining nine-tenths for work or assistance, such work was not or could not be provided.

Booth objectively realized the magnitude of his problem. Then he sat himself down to think of the practical physical aspects of taking his children to the Promised Land.

VIII

Think a Problem Through

There are many names in English history that have become famous for specific thought and planning as means of improving the social relations of men. Each thinker reflected a special personality, a special field of major vocational interest, and he thought of the problems of certain general areas. One spoke in terms of the whole of societies of men, while another considered restricted segments. Most of them looked at the world in terms of problems to overcome in bettering the human lot. A wide diversity of opinion is found from a perusal of their philosophies.

One thought it impossible to tell when the world was in its maturity. There was uncertainty whether men were approaching perfection or declining from it. For another there was a gradual economic progress of human society, and there would perhaps be an indefinite increase of wealth and social welfare. Another said that men could not know the heights to which they aspire in the advance toward perfection, but that unless the very face of Nature herself were changed they would fall back into original barbarism. Another suggested that the characters of men sprang from external circumstances. What man became was simply dependent upon his various impressions and experiences. Misery was due to long-standing ignorance, to harsh habits, to coercive human institutions and other warping influences. The way to perfection was through

the agency of the human will clothed in the form of correct education and effort. Another thinker said that this world could never be made the place of perfect happiness, but with enough effort it could be made into a beautiful garden compared with the dark forests in which men so long had wandered. Yet another directed his attention to a belief that Nature had endowed man with a sexual drive so powerful that if left to itself it would cause starvation or vice or death because of tremendous numbers of human beings outgrowing the supply of food.

William Booth as a social thinker must be remembered for his practical thought that was prompted primarily by his survey of the miserable life of the people of the Darkest England community. His thought on the family and economics and on the government of men was colored and influenced throughout by his practical theological doctrines. Yet as an evangelistic social thinker Booth reflected a scientific and analytical mode of thought. He showed an appreciation for specific contributions of the different disciplines of sociology. He offered no broad and impressive original thought on the state of the world's maturity or of the increase of wealth in the general society. He was not concerned with the earliest barbarism of men. Neither did he speculate in figures of world population. He cannot be credited with unusual originality of thought; the ideas that he entertained concerning the state of men and the ways of human relations were held by any number of Englishmen. In positive terms, he should be remembered for his analytic approach to the question of social relations, for his orderly formulation of specific and practical convictions, and for an unwavering faith in the fundamental worth of man.

Booth as a thinker gave himself over—"body, soul and spirit"—not only for his own salvation "but for the glory of Christ and the salvation of men." He pondered the sins and sorrows of the world. He carried an overwhelming burden upon his heart. His thought was based on the problems of hunger, disease, filth and the terrible indignities and injustices that men inflicted upon each other. He stood in the midst of the poverty and misery of the people amongst whom he labored. He almost despaired at the "pictured ceilings, gilded cornices, crimson hangings, and the luxuri-

ous furnishings" in the homes of more fortunate, selfish brother Englishmen. Clouding all of his thought were awful scenes of squalor and creaking, rotten staircases. There were empty rooms; there was nakedness and wretchedness and hunger of the children. There were "maddening crowds absorbed in the frenzied search for gold, fame and pleasure." Booth thought of them "on the exchange, in the market, on the race course, in the theater, in public, in private, on the land and on the sea." And he heard the wailing of the poor doomed children—heard their sobs as their little feet were unwillingly turned into thorny paths of evil. He heard the "clanking of the chains of the slaves." He thought of "the wounded and the dying on the battlefields of life." He heard the "moans of the paupers in the workhouse prisons." He thought of the "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth" of the men and women who had gone down to Hell because no man cared for their souls.

Booth thought as an inspired prophet. To his people he was endowed with a special insight into what occurred in the world of the submerged tenth of England and all the earth. He spoke with God's authority. To the people of the slums he was in closest communion with the unseen Powers of goodness over evil. He became a champion for a time of crisis. Unfortunate humanity thought of him when it cried for a prophet. Millions were longing for a new Moses to lead them from their brutal poverty into the sweet milk and honey of the Promised Land. Booth heard their cries and thought of his special resources of strength. He had his Salvation Army, and he had a special alliance with heavenly powers. He was certain of himself.

His theological thought was a simple and practical one. He was little concerned with the weighty theological questions and long training of the seminaries, with academic thoughts of controversial religious topics. He wondered little and cared less about time-consuming arguments on metaphysical attributes, incarnation, the unknowables, depravity, materialism, or foreknowledge. For most of these topics Wesley had given Booth an answer.

Booth simply realized that he must during all his earthly experience see only a haze through a glass dimly. But after passing

through the dark valleys of Death, he knew that on the other side—while he “walked the streets in slippers of gold, hallelujah!”—he would learn all about the mysterious One in whom he had believed.

A specially inquisitive theological mind might tie itself up and obscure the deeper aspects of Booth's religion with an effort to reconcile the gloomy pessimism of Ecclesiastes with the bright humility expressed in the teachings of Paul. A dozen questions might arise in such a mind. Hours could be spent in harmonizing discrepancies in the teachings of various Protestant sects, most of which claimed a common divine inspiration. Men could wonder about the specific plane of evolution that man had attained and deny that he had even approached the capacity of thought and speech about spiritual things with God. They could despair of all religion by looking at a social order of various classes—the high, the middle and the lowest social levels, each loyal to a common God, but granted differing amounts of God's bounty. They could mock God and say that God Himself was inconsistent—boasting of his own jealousy while condemning that trait in man. How could He claim to be merciful and still permit millions to go to Hell? Was not Christ, the Son, weighted down with an exalted ego, walking around ancient cities begging people to give Him their love, to honor *me*, to follow *me*? Always *me*! Such a selfish approach, and inconsistent with the selfless devotion He taught men to demonstrate. What about Christ, anyway? Was He not just another Buddha or Mohammed or Confucius who merely said the same thing in different terms? And was God justified in expecting from nineteenth-century Englanders the same degree of loyalty to biblical doctrines that he got from the people who centuries ago walked and talked in the very flesh with his earthly Son? Modern man had only promises to go on. How could he believe that a God would give him a costly home in Heaven when he could not yet find a cheap crust of bread to fill his empty stomach while on earth?

The continuous mystery of insoluble questions made Booth's religion a beautiful possession. That satisfying mysteriousness itself had meant security for the minds of questioning Catholics for

many years. For them, it was a never-ending wonder how Christ could be a dual personality, at once God and man, at the same time divinity and humanity. It was even harder to conceive of the triple nature of the Godhead, to lift the human mind beyond materiality to the rock of the unseen Presence, to a workable conception of the marvelous and dynamic Holy Spirit. What was that Spirit like? How could man take hold of it? How could he feel it? But the greatest mystery was the living mechanism by which the bread and wine of a service became the actual body and blood of the Crucified One. Yet the Catholics had taken these very mysteries and accepted their intangibility. In so doing, they had shaped these abstract, these spiritual, these unknowable truths into major motivating forces of Catholic doctrine.

Booth knew that he could not see the wind. He could give no scientific explanation of its origins or its properties. He did not know where it came from or whither it went, but he could not and did not deny its power and importance. Similarly, when he drank a cup of crystal water, cooled in the rambling flow of a shaded mountain stream, he could not see its immediate source in the stream. He was not able to follow myriad bendings and twistings and countless outpocketings on the pathway to its destiny, but it was good to his palate, and it was necessary for his thirst. And when he persuaded a man to kneel at his drumhead or at the mercy seat of his indoor service, he did not have to analyze in physical or experimental terms the thing taking place there. Booth got a man that far; then God, who worked in "mysterious ways His wonders to perform," stepped in to do the rest. The altar or the drumhead for William Booth was a place for dramatic and remarkable changes in human personality, for remaking old habit patterns, for satisfying a deep and inner craving for something nobler for the human heart. To him, the drumhead was like the Lutheran altar to the Lutherans. It was a meeting ground, a holy place that signified mystery and adoration.

He had obtained his earliest unique ministerial impressions for the formulation of his personal philosophy in the open air, where shouting drivers whipped carriage horses that clambered along the cobbled streets of the city. The rolling drone of a rich

man's carriage passing by; the merciless yells of delinquent adolescents defying his efforts with his drum. Mental cripples, boisterous psychopaths of East London, talking rapidly and monotonously of their plight. The broken, muffled cry of a back-alley bastard, hurriedly ejected from the heated waters of a fallen woman's womb; pinkly newborn, naked and unprotected. Squirming . . . growing . . . puking. Nurtured upon bitter white milk oozed from the clotted nipple pores of a hungry harlot. Diaperless. Two velvet little rump cheeks pinched by the vicious cold. Crying . . . peeing . . . glowing. The baby toddle. Wild uncertainties of youth. Inevitable frustrations of manhood. The body's decline with time and maturity. At last its rotten return to the social soil of the Darkest England jungle. Raucous, piercing laughter echoing weirdly and almost ceaselessly through the London slums.

Booth stood beside the fungus-covered gutters. He inhaled the toxic stench of filthy sewers and the smelly refuse of East London wastes—wasted hearts and the wasted lives of men. Unpainted shacks with broken joists leaned heavily with the passing winds. Cold and crowded pallets were spread out upon their floors. Dirty men, drowsy from fitful sleep under the great bridges of Trafalgar Square gathered round him. Rouged and scented women, despairing of hope, now cheapened whores of the street, ambled closer. Skinny urchins with slippery mucous draped securely between nostril hairs. Scabby bodies stood in front of him. Grimy faces, some lined and deeply wrinkled, some reflecting the artificial age of neglected youth. Drooping, expressionless eyes set far back in cavernous pits. Humped addicts and frail alcoholics waddled and stumbled into the range of his voice—into the sound of his beaten drum. Oh, the matted hair and the rotting teeth of the slummer! A selfish mother. A brutal father. A neglected child.

This was the quality of the clay that Booth brought to the Potter. This was the type he was determined to manipulate. He would turn his hollow drum upon its battered side, jerk himself erect in his best military bearing and look fearlessly into the eyes of any group that formed around him. He had an intelligible faith

that underlay a spiritual remedy. He would tell them if they would stop and hear.

The conditions of the poor were admittedly deplorable. Booth was agonized because they were so prevalent in the world-encircling shadow of the English throne; but his active faith, contagiously dogmatic, bolstered each pulse of his booming drum. Its loud vibrations told his followers to "Fetch 'em, fetch 'em. Do not wait for the poor to come to you." And, fully shrouded with the invincible faith projected from the bearded countenance of William Booth, an area of cobbled streets edged by germy gutters and trod upon by the weaving drunk, and the harlot whose promiscuous breasts danced loosely from a bony, heaving chest became transformed into a blooming garden, virgin with the wood's dirt of human souls, a garden of prayer where someone waited, and that someone was Christ. It was not difficult to recognize His slender face. Long hair of the straightness of nails that suggested blackness in its hue. An intelligent nose, sharply molded of wisdom and delicately cemented between firm eyes and softer brows. Hard rectangular shoulders: sturdy timber-bearers; bruised pivots for a solid cross along the trail to Calvary. Shapely arms, big and powerful; bulging sinews visibly taut through ripely olive skin—arms strong enough to challenge the money-changers of the Temple. Arms that held His sagging body to the Tree. Shallow but definite furrows remained to crease His long and serious forehead. He had not yet outgrown the meanest signs of that final agonizing misery on the Cross. Oh, the noise and hurried stirring of people and the metallic armor-bearing of Calvary! Through centuries of decades the sands of the earth had drunk down the blood of man, spilled in human warfare, to no avail. Only the divine blood of Calvary's Christ, the Messiah, the Son of God, the Prince of Peace, flowing in the holy crusade of William Booth had provided the answer to the ancient question of peace on earth, salvation for men. Watch the eager receptiveness of His half-smiling face. Listen for His anxious heart beating faster in childish exhilaration when the stranger comes close to Him.

You always had to look up to Christ. He was larger in frame and taller, somehow, than other men. Even on the road

to Golgotha's crest you had to look up to Him. True, He crumpled under the heaviness of the terrible Cross; He stumbled, groaned, fell on His face. He scratched and gashed His body on the sun-hot stones along that horrible path. But He got back up again and walked sturdily toward fulfillment of His crowning earthly duty. And now, centuries later, the tireless arms that had angled upward on the Cross formed a triumphant arc in front of Him. What a big space between them as He stood waiting for the prodigal! Hear the sweetness of his accent—a voice that could stop the flight of the birds or the warble of their song. Even in the deeply blended shadows of the Garden you could tell it was Christ. Look at those jagged nail sores, those scarring holes in His precious hands. "O, Jesus, Thou art everything to me. Rock of Ages. Gracious Redeemer. Handsome Saviour. Thorny-browed Lover of my soul. Take me. Take me. I surrender!"

Booth was sure that the divine and important and mysterious work of grace that took place at his drumhead was quite as effective as if it had occurred in the quiet and luxurious sanctuary of Westminster Abbey or in the elaborate interior of St. Paul's Cathedral. He had no immediate perceptible physical knowledge or explanation of how God affected that work, but he accepted the fact as real on the Word of God. Like the Quakers, Booth believed in the perpetual nearness of God to the human soul, the eagerness of His desire to know a man closer through an altar of prayer. Booth shared with George Fox the belief in the mystically glorious experience of a sinner's firsthand discovery of God. He believed that human understanding could no more grasp the real mystery of salvation than it could adequately conceive of the distances involved in astronomical computations or of the marvelous workings of cellular mechanisms that brought into consciousness the sounds emitted from his big bass drum. He knew when to stop wondering. He knew where reasoning and interpretation failed. He knew when to fall down in adoration at the blood-wet foot of a Roman Cross where the warm red life of Christ spewed out from His gaping side. "I've no time to argue theology; whether Christianity is right or wrong, you must admit it is the most wonderful force that has ever come along. There are three

things one must have: forgiveness of the past, strength to be good in the future, and a spirit of love for others. If there is any way to get these except through a regeneration by the Holy Ghost, I have yet to find it." The Methodist *Epworth Herald* said of Booth's theology:

Stript of its noise and its military masquerade, the message of William Booth was altogether that of the New Testament as most sincere Christians receive it. He was a Methodist through and through in his theology, as anyone may see who will look into the literature used in the training schools for Army officers.

Unlike the doctrines of the Universalists and the Unitarians, the teachings of Wesley gave Booth a hell to hold over his people. That Hell was very real—a burning, sulphurous, stifling pit of fire. But the streets of Heaven were paved with shining gold, and the roomy mansions on high were furnished with every comfort. Man had a will. It was up to him—not to God—to determine the reward or punishment he shared.

The student finds a continuous thread of simplicity and practicality throughout Booth's religious thought. The reality of the conversion experience was indeed the world's most precious gift. Christ had come into the world. To all who received Him and trusted in His name He gave a privilege of becoming the children of God. That time had fully come. The fields were white unto harvest. The Kingdom of God was close at hand. Men had but to repent and believe the tidings of Christ to reap the countless blessings and benefits of God.

For a full appreciation of Booth's family thought the student must consider again the significant teachings of Jesus Himself regarding this nearest of human analogies to the Christian ideal which Christ sought to reveal. The basic theology of Jesus may be understood as a transfiguration of the family. God is a Father; man is His child. From Father to the child is passed the warm message of paternal love. Christ glorified the family. He was happy at the wedding feast. He lived until manhood in the tranquillity of His small-town home. He listened to His parents. During the

strain of His last days on earth, He was comforted in the family circle at Bethany. In His doctrine of marriage He stood for the rights and duties of women. His final thought as He hung on the Cross was for His mother in her village home.

Booth's family thought fell into direct line with Christ's ideal of the patriarchal family type. Booth's convictions concerning the family institution may be condensed as a comparison of value between urban and rural family relationships toward the production of healthy and adjusted individuals. Booth advocated the small-town life as opposed to the life of the city. He gave special attention to marriage and suggested causes and dangers underlying failure to develop marital unity. He held definite convictions about children and their relation to living conditions. He gave opinion on the interpersonal and group relations of the husband and wife of his ideal—the patriarchal family group patterned after the family teachings of Christ. The fundamental law of the family, according to Booth, was based upon the fact that humanity is composed of two sexes. No good could come from any attempt to make each half into a functioning whole.

It was the Apostle Paul who expressed the earliest authoritative opinion of Christianity in regard to the status of women. Women he thought inferior. They must keep silent in the churches and "adorn themselves in modest apparel with shame-facedness and sobriety." Women had become tainted by the sins of Eve. They needed discipline. They were dangerous to men. Sex and sex desires were sinful. The Industrial Revolution had helped woman come out from under this heavy cloak of inferiority announced by Paul. The free influx of women into the manufacturing areas of England lay at the root of many of Booth's problems of the nineteenth century.

Booth did not advocate a silent, inferiority status for womanhood as Paul had done. Indeed, he wanted to put women into uniform and make them public speakers, but he did oppose the freedom engendered by the Industrial Revolution. He felt that one of the first of woman's rights was to be queen of her household. Observation of the housing situation in London, however, disclosed thousands of young people with no opportunity for de-

sirable courting or social contact. In addition to these housing arrangements, soldiering and colonization were factors in upsetting the sex ratio so that there were insufficient mates for individuals who desired marriage and the establishment of a home. Youth experienced difficulty in finding opportunity for desirable and friendly social intercourse. A class of supposed "celibates" resulted who were not chaste but who universally and lawlessly indulged a mighty instinct. This was due in part to the improper distribution of women among urban men. When properly numbered, woman was the great moral stabilizer of society. She was the root of evil and vice when not evenly distributed.

In no more definite manner did Booth come face to face with his God than in viewing the natural handiwork of the rural environment. Booth made a battleground of the largest cities of England and other sections of the world. His was a war upon machines and smoke and products and people and wages. But he knew that if he were to find a lasting and peaceful environmental arrangement for a man, he must return that man to the fields of the country farmland. There, one could look out upon the vast and distant blueness of a friendly sky. There, dainty cotton clouds locked hands and waltzed majestically with robust summer breezes. Ripened pollen flitted recklessly and scattered itself and almost sparkled in the slanting floodlight of a lazy sun. Acres and acres of eager, useful earth unfolded like thick, fawn-brown carpets at his feet.

For Booth, the people of the farmlands considered each other with a love and a trust and a sincerity that was a part of godliness. They lived vigorously and loved faithfully, and married and laughed and died. They got closer to God through fruitful soil that bore abundantly of life's essentials. They stooped their laboring shoulders and flexed their muscles willingly. Steady rippling winds of summer fields smartly whipped their sweaty, rural cheeks. They carried their awkward burdens and shared their rewards unselfishly. A thousand living sounds from their barnyards and terraces mixed into one haunting and satisfying stimulus to farm chores and harvest. Ground-breaking . . . the planting of the seed . . . crop-making. Healthful work amidst the upright beauty

of towering trees and little ones, thick with leaf, heavy with bark and securely placed in God's productive soil. Shoots waking . . . the plucking of the fruit . . . autumn marketing. Silent fieldmice that God made and that God guarded scampering timidly in shallow furrows, cocking animal eyes at inquisitive crows, circling and cawing incessantly just over the farmer's head.

In the rush and pressure of competitive city life, thousands of men were sires but not fathers. The children suffered while the city grew at the expense of depopulated country areas and became filled with undigested and undigestible masses of labor. In the large towns, gas and the electric light enabled the employer to rob the children of the whole of their father's working hours. If the country child possessed nothing but a little skimmed milk, he had plenty of exercise in fresh air. He was subject to a natural life in contact with the vicarage and the farm. If healthy children were to come from marriage vows, there must first be a home, then milk, then fresh air and, finally, exercise under the green trees and blue sky. In the country, darkness restored the laboring father to the little one. Booth thought that children should be taken from the filth of the slums into fields around cottage homes in the farm environment that was punctuated by the wholesome sounds of the country. How closely does this teaching fit into the philosophy of the modern science of child-saving as it rests upon the restorative quality of a good home! Its hope is in the deportation of needy children from the influences of the city to rural and domestic surroundings.

Booth said that families of small, healthy communities were related by neighborhood ties. Youths in trouble, destitute widows, artisans who had been thrown out of work, or an orphan family were saved from being crushed by the iron walls of circumstance by a number of small acts of service based on the spirit of mutual helpfulness which prevailed.

Booth felt that between the sexes in the small town there was enforced companionship that was lacking in the large city. In the natural life of the country village, people were able to channel sex urges by constantly taking advantage of the prevalent opportunity

for love-making and courtship. This fact contributed greatly to the happiness and stability of social life.

Booth's thought on the family is an example of the picture that Jesus made of a perfect spiritual unity of social life, which He called the Kingdom of God. In the final fulfillment of His desire, the nucleus is the unity of the family group, where the self-realization of each individual is found in an expression of thoughtful self-surrender. If the family group could be established in integrity, then within its circle could be easily verified the matchless principles of the Kingdom.

When Jesus looked at the industrial order, he was not indifferent to the need for ameliorating economic circumstances. Christ was extremely conscious of the circumstantial factor in the downfall of men. When Booth thought of a plan to save his poor, he reflected the inspiration of the teaching of Christ. The industrial order that Booth sought to establish showed the sentiments of compassion and justice that Christ wanted to see introduced into the industrial life of mankind.

Booth's thought concerning social and industrial economy was not bound or limited by various economic theories of his day. He dedicated himself to the task of an industrial enterprise which would practically incorporate and consistently uphold his convictions about religion and the patriarchal family while giving loyalty to his autocratic government. He thought in the spirit of Christ, so that the mechanical aspects of his scheme appeared first as a spiritual desire, then as an actual mechanical device. Booth thought of an industrial relation for his poor that verified the teaching of Jesus. Then he proceeded to show his faith in the Master through his work. The commercial aspects of Booth's thought expressed a personal ideal. Back of a practical economy stood a man of faith.

Booth believed in co-operation as the fundamental economic device that could overcome the problems of his poor. There were scarcely any bounds that might be set to the co-operative idea. And through all his thinking he recognized the great and abiding task of removing the competitive selfishness of the sinners whom

he attracted as he tried to convert them to an interest in their fellow man and so realize co-operatively the common good.

Booth's co-operation was to be based on righteous principles; otherwise, no more good could be derived from association than from individualism. His co-operation was an applied association, a voluntary combination of individuals in order to attain an object through mutual help, mutual counsel and mutual effort. An industrious man should be able to grow his rations if he were given a spade and some land, provided he had intelligent direction and was aware of the advantages of co-operation. But co-operation alone was not enough. To it must be added the principle of authority. This implied a willing submission to the control and direction of designated leaders who had been selected and placed at the top. There must be "universal and unquestioning obedience from those at the bottom."

Under co-operative circumstances there should come about before long a complete industrial community which could boast of all the trades of London. The land, timber and minerals that were a part of Booth's threefold-colony vision could be rented to the colonists. All unearned increments and improvements on the land could be held on behalf of the entire community and utilized for its general advantage. A certain percentage of profits could be set aside for the extension of its borders and the continued transmission of colonists from England in increasing numbers. A spirit of "each for all" could pervade the whole system as the colonists worked among themselves. Even those who were sent to other shores could be in contact with the home country through the passage to and fro of the "salvation ship" between the bases, exchanging new colonists for produce the old ones had raised. The sense of brotherhood and consciousness of community of interest by the colonists could be increased further through the influence of the telegraph, steam and electricity.

The wage system was based upon the competitive aspirations of men. Competition had envy for its cornerstone. Envy could not be a solid foundation for any economy. In a competitive system the individual might employ his capital in the support of domestic industry in such a manner that its produce was of great value, but

such an arrangement to Booth was not the answer to labor problems. But though master and worker were at each other's throats, capital was not the natural enemy of labor. It was the great object which the laborer must keep in view. The lack of good capital was the cause of anxiety among the laborers. The aim of the social reformer should be to facilitate its widest distribution among his fellow men. It was the congestion of capital that men must abhor. Regardless of good or evil aspects of competition, the sole way for men to solve the labor problem lay in having each worker become his own capitalist. This could come about by setting up levies by the workers themselves which would extend over weeks and months so that in time each worker would set himself up as a capitalist. In this way all the means of production, the plant and the accumulated resources of capital, would really be at the disposal of labor. Capital would not be abolished, but labor and capital would thus be one and the same.

Huxley also thought of labor and capital. He considered the bachelor who paid rent upon a room and had his household matters attended to by the people of the house. The rent which such a man paid them for the room became capital, in part wages for their labor, and that man became, technically, an employer. If that man saved one shilling out of his thirty shillings each week, he had, to that extent, added to his capital when the next Saturday came around. If he put his savings week by week into a savings account, the difference between him in his single room and the banker in his mansion was simply one of degree.

Huxley felt that it was foolish to consider labor and capital necessarily antagonistic or to consider that all capital was produced by labor and was therefore the property of the laborer. On the contrary, capital and labor were necessarily close allies. Capital was never a product of human labor alone. It existed apart from human labor. It was the necessary antecedent of labor and furnished the materials on which labor was employed.

As he directed attention to problems of supply and demand, the construction of the social economy which Booth envisioned was based in large part upon the gathering and reconversion of secondhand or waste material—clothes, bottles, rags, paper, tins

and bones. This presented the possibility of a resultant diminished demand for new articles with a simultaneous curtailment of work and wages. But to Booth such diminished demand was a great auxiliary to trade, inasmuch as the money saved could then be expended upon other products of industry.

Supply and demand could both necessarily increase as a direct consequence of the regenerated desires to which his people would be subject. The drunkard, for example, who formerly managed with a soapbox and a bundle of rags would want a chair, a table, a bed, and at least the other necessary adjuncts to a furnished home, however sparsely fitted out it might be.

Booth thought that paupers could serve as laborers in various factories of his colonies. Since their salary would be paid out of charitable contributions of more fortunate workers, it should be expected by the latter that Booth's production would be placed on the market at a considerably smaller market value than common. It would thus compete unjustly with the sale of the articles made by the very individuals who had paid the wages of his labor force. But Booth felt that there would be a "higher standard of labor" with a "war against sweating in every form" which would act as a counteracting factor to this argument.

Then, too, there was the possibility that his factory proposals would result in a British labor market flooded by the introduction of many new hands. But Booth reasoned that such a number would necessarily be few. By removal from the market as available workers men who were being only partially cared for and by employing them in his farms to produce their own food, there could result an adequate supply of work for the persons who remained in the labor market.

Carrying his economic thought further, Booth recognized individual differences in capacity among the poor whom he wanted to help. He realized the possibility that some individuals would be able to climb unaided out of what he considered the whirlpool of circumstance and through their own desire or effort put their feet on a stable economic rock. He would not concern himself at great length with this group. In addition to such obvious

ability, the individually different colonists of his great religious community would be classified as to character, strength, mental caliber and conduct. With reference to emigration, Booth was impressed by a feeling that men and women had by other workers been set upon new soil with no attention to their difference in ability so that other countries had retained them only as a great burden and expense.

Booth felt that individual party and religious differences should be no barrier to offering help, since each man was his brother's keeper. In addition to party and religious differences, it has already been seen that there was a class differentiation into "the submerged tenth" and "the uppercrust." There was an "aristocracy among the poor."

Much of Booth's economic thought rested upon his recognition of certain living habits among the upper classes. To him, the habits of luxury characterizing more fortunate people resulted in accumulation as waste of certain materials that might still be useful. Booth thought that he should be able to regiment the poor to reclaim this imperfect material. Thus, the bottles and bones and discarded clothes found among the upper classes of English society could be gathered by his poor clients. Luxurious waste was evil and was accompanied by the unemployment that was rampant. But by intelligent manipulation the waste objects of London households could become useful articles; at the same time employment could be provided for the workless poor. The familiar red trucks which today move from door to door in cities throughout the world, gathering discarded materials, is a modern expression of this thought in practice.

An underlying conviction in Le Play's system of thought was that the laboring classes were the foundation of society. Cutting the cords of their oppression was really the task of the upper classes, who owed the worker more than wages. In a similar vein, Booth felt that the rich corporations and millionaires who had charge of the affairs of London would never have amassed their fortunes without the sweating helpfulness of the masses. Men and women who spent "small fortunes on tours on the continent, on

Alpine climbings and yacht excursions," should come forward and provide means for at least one day of the year in fun for their less fortunate brethren.

Le Play looked at society as a whole. He would never promote the interest of one class without considering the interests of the others. A social system of classes must be approached with the intimacy of class dependencies and relationships in mind. Booth followed Le Play when he said that while assisting one class of the community the reformer must not seriously interfere with the interests of another. "In raising one section of the fallen, we must not thereby endanger the safety of those who with difficulty are keeping on their feet."

Booth's anticipation of success of the Darkest England Scheme rested to a great extent upon his proposal of work for unemployed subjects and insistence that they take it. The first step in the reclamation of the individual was to say to him, "You are hungry. Here is a shelter for your head, but remember, you must work for your rations." Honorable work was considered the basic activity. Charity or any other method of approach that did not require work from the recipient was a temporary and ultimately ineffectual measure.

Booth's economic thought of the nineties appeared at a time of popular discussion of Marxian socialism. Indeed, there were many prominent expressions of the socialist sentiment in organizations of the day. In the pubs and drawing rooms and in the Houses of Parliament, Booth's economic thought appealed to the socialist forces. Professor Huxley liked to think of Booth as a socialist in disguise and of Salvationism as a type of socialism with a theological exterior. But through all his work, thought and direction of those under his command Booth tried to keep himself above any specific brand of socialism. He was not fundamentally concerned with the interpretation of strikes or boycott, with sabotage or syndicalism. He left these for the economists and the political scientists to discuss and practice. Booth restricted his thought and his method to the East London problem immediately about him. He did not contemplate or perhaps even recognize the possibility of a comprehensive socio-political or secular governmental system devised

and introduced *in toto*, of such a nature as to guarantee the elimination of the social and individual difficulties that rendered his social scheme necessary. He did not attack the British government directly, except to point out the shame that should weigh it down for its lethargy in permitting such social conditions to develop and persist. He said:

There is nothing in my scheme which will bring it into collision either with socialists of the state, or socialists of the municipality, with individualists or nationalists, or any of the various schools of thought in the great field of social economics—excepting only those anti-Christian economists who hold that it is an offense against the doctrine of the survival of the fittest to try to save the weakest from going to the wall, and who believe that when a man is once down the supreme duty of a self-regarding society is to jump upon him.

A plan of the magnitude laid down by Booth, in which initially 3,000,000 people were to be regimented, organized and disciplined along lines of an altered life pattern, made factors of government or social control important. Two specific factors formed much of the foundation thought of his proposed methods of disciplining and controlling the members of the Darkest England Scheme. These were (1) government and (2) education and belief.

Booth felt that there was a universal instinct on the part of mankind to obey governmental leadership. Even when governments had become blind, deaf, paralytic and stenching from corruption, they still managed to continue. In spite of such will to obey, however, the co-operative firm, factory and utopia of the past had come to grief because their promoters were unwilling to recognize that authority is an essential element in success in such schemes. Authority must be imposed upon the group who were members of that firm, factory, or utopia. The authority might be of a type based on debate and parliamentary principles. Booth was intensely opposed to such parliamentary governmental ideas, however. He felt that no co-operative institution controlled by

such means could compete successfully with one that was directed by a single brain which wielded the combined resources of a disciplined and obedient army of workers. Equality and government by vote of the majority were inevitable causes of failure among experimental communities.

Booth advocated an obedience to his orders comparable to that which Napoleon had enjoyed. He brought special attention to men with military training. He expressed confidence in such individuals who would become a part of his plan of redemption. The submissive attitudes in men that had been prompted and nurtured by national military ties and associations could well apply toward the realization of his religious scheme. Men who had already become trained and skilled and taught to obey in various military fields should be easily handled as they diverted energies from defending their lands against enemy attacks to an aggressive offensive aimed at conquering the moral and economic devils of the soul. For example, old army engineers and members of the artillery and infantry could add their knowledge to the operation of units of the plan. Cavalry men would be good agents for directing the transportation of articles from the city to the farm in exchange for others to carry into the city.

While the name "Salvation Army" and the decision to employ military procedures came about without special design, Booth manifested a definite inclination toward incorporating such discipline as characterized national military systems into his scheme. For months he slept with a British Army manual at his bedside. The fact is obvious that he felt that the military man was trained to obey, to be handy and smart, to be drilled and worked and ordered as if he were a machine. He believed that if the military devotion and obedience of 100,000 common soldiers could be cultivated in Christian groups there would be a universally beneficial purging of social poisons. It was such obedience—not liberty, fraternity and equality—that brought glory in the wake of the French Revolution. Booth believed that it was the uncompromising obedience which Napoleon enforced throughout his ranks that created for him the vast military outfit with which he swept in triumph from Paris to Moscow.

The practices and doctrines that characterized the French Revolution were opposed by Le Play. He advanced the principles of Christian morality, duty and obedience to authority as the basis of practical social organization and economy. Revolution itself was the strongest evidence of discord in the social life. While Rousseau was a sharp influence in cutting the pattern of his intellectual background, Le Play opposed Rousseau's major ideas of liberty, equality and the right of revolt. Booth similarly feared revolutionists as the greatest foe to improving the conditions of men. Despairing multitudes made up recruits of revolutionary armies, but the French peasants were unjustified in feeling that liberty, fraternity and equality meant the inauguration of the millennium. They polished the principles of freedom and license to the logical finish. They tried to manage their army on parliamentary procedures. This was not a good policy. It was the obedience to the authority of Napoleon that knitted the gash in their armor and saved the French Revolution from losing its life in its cradle.

For Huxley, the laws and moral precepts laid down by men were for the purpose of reminding the individual of his duty to the country which, whatever his standing, had lifted him at least to something better than the life of a brutal savage. And whatever the conditions of man, intelligence and will guided by sound principles of investigation and organized in common effort might modify the conditions of his life. Much could be done to change the very nature of man himself. Booth looked to God to change the heart of men and proposed directing the energies of his brother to bring God's influence into the heart of the savage.

Education and belief were significant factors in Booth's social philosophy. He attacked the general methods of education that were prevalent in the common schools of the day. Such techniques were not a part of his social ideal. An alteration in basic approach and philosophy must be resorted to if formal educational methods were to serve any useful function. The system of teaching in common English schools of the time was unnatural and shamefully wasteful of the energies of the student. The school program as handled usually was good for teaching A B C's, but even in this activity there was a danger of the child in his association in school

groups learning the language of the harlot and the community delinquent. For Booth, the existing classroom procedures did little toward teaching valuable and practical domestic culture to girls so that they could bake an edible crust of the staff of life.

He thought that a more profitable approach to formal education would be realized by permitting the student to devote one half of his time to industrial employment and the remaining portion to formal study in the classroom. In this way, the student would enjoy the schooling. His health would be promoted. The cost of education would decrease, and the best qualities in each child would be discovered and cultivated.

According to Le Play, the regime of the schools should be subordinated to the actual requirements of the population. The curriculum was not focused to conditions the pupil later faced. On this point Huxley was in agreement with both Booth and Le Play: the educational system showed defects of all educational systems that attempted to satisfy the worst of bygone conditions of society. There was too much to do with books and too little to do with things. Huxley made war on primitive scholastic methods. Such methods merely taxed the memory of the students. Children should be taught physical training and domestic economy. The aesthetic sense should be developed with drawing and singing. Reading, writing and arithmetic were basic tools for gaining knowledge. He proposed a technical education for attaining the state of art of his ideal society. Such would be worth the expenditure if it did nothing but pick out one man of scientific or inventive genius, each year, from amidst the hewers of wood and drawers of water and give him the chance of making the best of inborn faculties. "If there is one such child among the hundreds of thousands of our annual increase, it would be worth any money to draw him from the slough of misery or from the hotbed of wealth, and teach him to devote himself to the service of his people." While William Booth was advocating the dissemination of religious knowledge as the ultimate panacea, Thomas Huxley was wondering, "What might not the poor and lowly army of men achieve if given the opportunity to education? We have all known noble

lords who would have been coachmen, or gamekeepers, or billiard-makers, if they had not been kept afloat by our social corks."

In addition to education, it has been emphasized that Booth maintained that a new life could be achieved through a spiritual conversion experience. This belief was the basic hope for successfully controlling and disciplining and directing the individuals who were socially organized and related in his scheme. A strong religious belief must be instilled and maintained in each subject if the plan were to be effective. Booth believed that the social problem was completely insoluble unless it were possible to bring new moral life into the soul of the needy. "This should be the first object of every social reformer, whose work will only last if it is built on the solid foundation of a new birth, to cry, 'You must be born again.'" After such a new birth there would result a strict personal discipline and ready obedience to authority. Selfish ties that formerly bound the individual would be severed. Social bonds in home and family and religious group relationships would be restored. There would result a strong and increasing belief in the individual that a personal God had an interest in providing the social and temporal needs of men, and that personal God could bring Booth's children out of the darkness of the East Side of London.

IX

The Way Out

The thinking and working and writing of William Booth in his *Darkest England* became the basis of his role as the social planner. When he spoke in behalf of the sinning and suffering multitude that composed the Darkest England community, he was a social planner in much the same sense as a society committee chairman who lays the area-improvement plan of his committee before the general membership for its approval. Booth may be likened to the committee chairman; the personnel of The Salvation Army were his committee members; the improvement of environmental and individual conditions of the poverty-stricken of Darkest England was the cause for the plan which he presented to the larger British population that represented the general society membership. He offered the plan to the society and said that its members had been given "the means by which it may be realized . . . it is for you to say whether it is to remain barren, or whether it is to bear fruit in unnumbered blessings to all the children of men."

Booth spoke as a confident propagandist of the functional possibility of combining temporal and spiritual influences toward the welfare of men. He was still the vibrant personality who spoke directly to the man of the street, but he was also now the man with power over many men, a world traveler, honored . . . talked about. He had grown into an evangelistic and social maturity

which was much more finished and which commanded a much greater measure of attention and respect than he had known in his beginning on Mile End Waste. His following now numbered thousands, who upheld him as a saintly autocrat, were convinced that he was endowed by God Himself with the mission and responsibility for salvaging a lost and dying land. He was the recognized governing symbol of a movement that had won a tremendous popular sympathy throughout the world. Booth was a ruler who could speak to any one of thousands of workers that were pledged to obey him implicitly and without question. He said, "Come," and the lad or lassie came. He said, "Go," and the lad or lassie went. Is there much wonder that a contagion of his expanding social-welfare interests took hold of The Salvation Army of the nineties?

Booth wanted to express and serve the needs of men, women and children through opportunity for a fuller and finer life. The scheme sprang from a thorough study of the situation as far as nineteenth-century standards go. It reflected comprehensive aims and specific methods involved in their realization. It was a cry against the laxity of the organized church and the inefficiency of the royal government in attacking the social problem of the poor. It was a written condemnation of the laissez-faire attitude that had characterized the England of the nineteenth century. Booth's social scheme was propaganda for the significance of social direction. It was an effort to arouse public interest in social planning. It was an attempt to find a place for evangelistically organized and trained leadership toward effective social action and achievement.

Social theorists had long recognized the need of a scheme of ends or values to the individual that would fit him into the social group and the wider society. Professor F. H. Giddings stressed the responsibility of society for the cultivation of the well-rounded individual. The function of society was to develop and safeguard the higher types of human personality. Booth cautioned in his scheme that society needed mothering; she herself was in many ways responsible for the problem of the ragged stranger from the East Side of London who stood at a door and begged alms or a crust or a job.

Booth's social plan falls well into line with the sociologist

Blackmar's feeling that all progress starts and ends with the individual. He is the substance out of which the superstructure of civilization and the larger society is reared. Booth believed with Blackmar that the individual who was sound in mind and body, endowed with sterling moral qualities and properly trained, could carry into the world the leaven of righteousness and leaven the whole lump. Booth proposed an individualization of the sentiments of philanthropy. Strangers from the big-city sidewalks, lost and cold and hungry, could find the fold of love and tender care of The Salvation Army. His plan would offer men the time for an active examination of themselves and development of their rights and duties to the group of which they formed a part. It fitted comfortably into the pattern of emerging modern social work through his advocacy of the individual-case method of study and treatment.

Booth wanted his people to reproduce and multiply. Much of the plan was rooted in the desire to establish strong family units. He planned methods by which needy men and women could be brought together as man and wife. In terms of the social personality Booth thus directed his attention to the cultivation of the individual. He then set his eyes on the family, which represented the smallest group unit and the smallest of primary group associations. A desirable and righteous society would result from stable family groups.

Booth's plan was an application of the importance of geographic principles in the welfare of society. It was fundamentally an effort to return the people of a restricted area of London to the fertile soils of country areas of England and other lands. Further, it was a plan of mass migration to the undeveloped geographical spots across the sea.

Booth planned to improve the housing conditions of his people. He would transform the shacks of the Darkest England community into clean yet humble abodes, and the blighted area of the slum would become attractive and inviting. His scheme reflected his knowledge and interpretation of the general industrial city and the rural farm. It was a warning against the depletion of the rural population.

In terms of the social economists, Booth's scheme was based

on co-operation as an economic device and much more fundamentally as a moral movement. Booth's co-operation depended for its success not only upon specific commercial principles but primarily upon the lasting moral qualities of Christ-like patience, loyalty, thrift and industriousness which he believed would make his clients co-operative men in God. Like various other of the century's advocates of co-operation, Booth sought first the production of fine substantial human beings rather than the production of fine goods. His co-operation proposed not only living and working for one's self or even for one's self and his family. The plan lay in the social principles of James in which men who had found the faith learned to work with others and for others. In this way Booth's system became a striking illustration of the teaching of Jesus, for Christ knew that industrial progress begins from within. Booth planned for progress from within. He would attract men with a promised economic security, a security resting in the possibility of the changed life, the remade individual whose latent talents had received fresh impetus toward industrial progress. Booth's plan would make work more personal, responsive and human; there would be no more competition and sweat shops and workhouses. He sought to convert industrial machines into Christ-like men. He sought to instill in the worker a picture of his labor as a means of gaining earthly benefit and the final golden treasures of Heaven.

William Booth spoke of his objective in the foundation and establishment of The Salvation Army's comprehensive social service in a summary fashion. He said that the Darkest England Social Scheme would have its foundation in the lowest slums and would receive—

. . . thieves, harlots, paupers, drunkards, prodigals, all alike. On the simple conditions of their being willing to work and to conform to discipline. Drawing up these poor outcasts, reforming them, and creating in them habits of industry, honesty and truth; teaching them methods by which alike the bread that perishes and that which endures to Everlasting Life can be won. . . .

And how did Booth propose to take his Army to the very

jaws of Hell in reclaiming for service these millions of suffering mankind? His was not a proposal of uncontrolled almsgiving; it was a system much in line with the precept of modern charity: "Not alms, but a friend." He followed the basic example of Christ. Jesus had looked at the world of men with His hopes set on the comprehensive principles of the Kingdom of God. From this point of view the special problem of the care of the poor was not a circumscribed scheme of temporary relief but a part of the universal problem of redeeming and renewing human character itself. Jesus was primarily concerned with the revelation of God in the souls of men. He surveyed the problem of charity in its larger relations. Booth saw Christ's broader horizon in reserved, sane and comprehensive dimensions. The methods proposed by William Booth for alleviating the distress of the inhabitants consisted of (a) modifying the environment which helped to create and perpetuate the problem, and (b) altering the personality and behavior patterns of the people. As a means of modifying the environment, Booth proposed that the people be regimented into self-helping and self-sustaining communities. Each of these would be a kind of co-operative society of patriarchal families. Each should be governed and disciplined on principles which, he felt, had already proved to be successful in his experience as head of The Salvation Army. The colonies or communities outlined were of three types. These were (1) the city colony, (2) the farm colony and (3) the colony overseas. Booth gave special treatment to each of these and presented an estimate of the amount of money necessary to initiate their operations.

Just as the problem of discipline and social control was always one of the uppermost factors in Booth's experience with the developing Salvation Army, so did discipline and social control stand out as factors in the social-scheme proposals. Booth, who had functioned for twenty-five years as the vigorous administrator of the evangelical Salvation Army, did not intend with his scheme to relinquish any of the authority which he had held. The social scheme meant an expanded program for The Salvation Army. It meant increased administrative and preaching responsibilities. It meant more trouble and discouragement, setbacks that could not

be anticipated and could be overcome or solved only with time, difficulty and the cost of new experience. But Booth in his sixtieth year was ready to accept the additional administrative duty that his social scheme engendered.

In the proposed administration of the colonies which made up the basic economic units of his social scheme, Booth may be better appreciated by considering the picture of the ideal colonial administrator that was painted by Thomas Huxley. Huxley spoke of the colonial administrator as a man of superior power and intelligence who was charged with the task of directing human elements in an effort to assure the victory of the forces of good over evil. Such an administrator should do all in his power to extirpate and exclude native rivals, whether men, beasts or plants. Such an administrator would select his human agents with a view to his ideal of a successful colony, just as a gardener selects his plants with a view to his ideal of useful or beautiful products. He would then make arrangements so that no struggle for the means of existence between these human agents should weaken the efficiency of the corporate whole in the battle with the state of nature and the forces of darkness. All obstacles to the full development of the capacity of the colonists by conditions of the state of nature would be removed by the creation of artificial conditions of existence of a more favorable character. The administrator would avail himself of the courage, industry, and co-operative intelligence of the settlers. Thus the governing head would have established a true Garden of Eden in which the struggle of men against men would be abolished.

Analysis of Booth's social proposals reveals these significant factors that were envisioned by Huxley. Booth presented an ideal. He would remove causes of competitive struggle. He would develop individual capacities. He would select the human agents who became part of his plan. But because Booth advocated autocratic control in administration of his colonial scheme, Huxley denounced him in straightforward terms to the British people. Booth's plan was merely disguised socialism. To Huxley, the "blind, unhesitating, and unquestioning obedience" to orders that Booth commanded in all his ranks was a worse evil than the harlotry and

drunkenness and thievery that such obedience was designed to overcome. But while Huxley ranted his opposition through the press, another observer was impressed with Booth's methods and wrote praises in a high church organ. The Methodists and Calvinists and Catholics had done much for the poor, but Booth's system had allowed him to do more. "The Pope cannot boast in his *Tablet's* triumph song, as the General can boast in his *War Cry*, that he has done almost everything for the poor *by the poor*."

In his effort to alter the personality patterns of the individual, he revealed himself always as the fundamental evangelist. Throughout his conception of the nature of the problem, Booth expressed his firm belief in the efficacy of his evangelism in bringing about a change in degraded people. It was true that through the years he had experienced difficulty and discouragement in bringing hungry men and women to the Cross, but he could boast of success in bringing them there. Yet they had not come in the numbers that he wanted to see. The Booth of the nineties believed that a provision of temporal need of food and clothing and shelter would attract them in greater numbers. If he could house them from the foaming billows, his workers would have longer time in which to work upon their hearts.

Booth never concretely defined the conversion experience. He said simply that "if the prodigal would come home to his Heavenly Father he would find enough and to spare in the Father's house to supply all his need both for this world and the next." The religious foundation for The Salvation Army's social service rests upon William Booth's feeling that his only hope for delivering mankind was "the regeneration or remaking of the individual by the power of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ." Booth felt that temporal provision would be a means to an end—the end of enabling him to "aim at the heart." He prophesied the "uttermost disappointment unless that citadel is reached." His proposal was one of an individualization of religious treatment much like that which is seen in the biblical account of the Good Samaritan and which characterizes much of modern social work.

Analysis of four of the case histories presented to describe

the success Booth had experienced with small-scale social work of the late 1880's will demonstrate his reliance upon fundamental evangelism. He described undesirable behavior patterns from case histories of his files. He told the story of Barbara. She had sunk about as low as any woman could when he found her. She became a terror to all the neighborhood, and her name was the byword for daring and desperate actions. Maggie, the character of another case history, had a home, but was seldom sober enough to reach it at night. She would fall down on the doorsteps until found by some passer-by or by a policeman. At five o'clock in the morning some factory girls, crossing the bridge to their work, came upon her. She lay stiff and dirty in the snow and darkness. There was the case of a sixty-four-year-old male opium-smoker, gambler and blackguard. He was separated from his wife and family. Eventually he landed in jail. "A.M." was a great drunkard. He was thriftless. He did not go to the trouble of seeking work.

Booth showed how he turned the spotlight of Christ upon the inner personality of these individuals in an effort to lead them to the Cross. With the case of Barbara, he continued, ". . . but our Open-Air Meetings attracted her, she came to the meetings, got saved. . . ." With the case of Maggie, he said, "She came to our Barracks, and got soundly converted." With the sixty-four-year-old man, after he landed in jail he ". . . was met on his discharge and admitted into a Prison Gate Home; was saved . . ." "A.M." came to a Slum meeting and heard the captain speak on "Seek First the Kingdom of God."

He called out and said, "Do you mean that if I ask God for work He will give it to me?"

The captain, of course, said, "Yes." He was converted that night.

The conversion experience of each of these clients produced desirable behavior patterns as shown by continuing their stories. Barbara "was delivered from her love of drink and sin." With Maggie, the captain was "rewarded for nights and days of toil by seeing her a saved and sober woman. . . ." After his conversion the old man ". . . is now restored to his wife and family and giv-

ing satisfaction in his employment." Following his conversion, "A.M. found work and is now employed in the Gas Works, Old Kent Road."

The dynamic religious aspects of Booth's social planning by which he sought to "aim at the heart" may be summarized into efforts toward (a) attracting the individual to the activities of The Salvation Army, (b) providing the individual with a basic religious philosophy or belief, (c) coercing the individual to accept the belief in a religious conversion experience, (d) encouraging him to confess his belief to others, (e) emphasizing the necessity of the constant identification of the individual with a personal Christ, (f) encouraging him to avail himself of means of mental catharsis by counsel with Salvation Army officers when discouraged, and (g) substituting his old and undesirable vocational and interest patterns by new and socially accepted ones. Each of these functional aspects will be described.

For attracting the needy to his activities, Booth spoke of the centers in which his workers were found throughout Great Britain. Each center had a meeting hall in which "on every evening in the week and from early morning until nearly midnight on every Sabbath, services are being held." Booth's Salvation Army workers of 1890 were uniformed speakers and musicians that sought to attract the masses. There was printed literature, as, for example, the *War Cry* and *All the World*, for distribution and explanation of the fundamental purpose of the Army's efforts among the needy elements. Booth felt that by perfecting his proposed scheme and putting it fairly to work, every such meeting, outdoor service and procession would be an advertisement of temporal and spiritual happiness. Every Army barracks and officers' quarters would become a center where suffering men could be attracted, and practical physical assistance in their difficulties would be forthcoming. For twenty-five years he had attempted to attract them with songs and testimony. Now he wanted to attract them with nourishing food and protective shelter as well.

Speaking further of bringing the needy to the various units of his scheme, Booth said:

See how useful our people will be in the gathering-in of this class. They are in touch with them. They live in the same street, work in the same shops and factories, and come in contact with them at every turn and corner of life. If they don't live among them they formerly did. They know where to find them; they are their old chums, pot-house companions, and pals in crime and mischief.

Booth's Army for attracting the wanderer was no random assortment of old companions in crime and mischief. To Booth, his Army was a dynamic militant organization of regenerated aggressors. They had heard the battle cry of the Master, "Rouse then, soldiers, rally round the banner; ready, steady, pass the word along." His was an Army of men and women who had pledged their lives to fight for God and the right. Christ was their invincible Captain. They trusted in the strength of their Saviour. They believed with a simple and childlike faith that their Army was bound to conquer the moral and economic evils of the day. They were closely bound by the open confession and certain knowledge that their day of victory was coming—the day when all the world's poor would fly to the Cross of Calvary. In the highways and in the byways of life his people would hold their banner high, until death took them to Glory as a final realization of their victory.

Other leading thinkers of the day did not agree with Booth's conception of his Army. Thomas Huxley cast a suspicious eye on the processions of the soldiers. In past ages the ranting and roaring mystagogues of some of the most venerable of Greek and Syrian cults also had their processions, banners and chants. They, too, had a hierarchy of officers to whom the art of making collections was not wholly unknown. Similarly, they had promised an Elysian future to contributory converts. And what had happened to them? They had passed away with time, and the social problems they professed to relieve remained with mankind. While Booth asked Britain for money for his scheme, Huxley told Britain to beware and avoid contributing to the development of Booth's

fantastic ideas. But for another observer who commented upon Booth's proposals, The Salvation Army from its humble beginnings had grown so rapidly—physically, spiritually and temporally—that even if it lost its soul, the corpse would be a long time decaying. Booth himself was mindful of the fundamental purposes of his movement. It had been constructed on the principle that if the soul went out, it must of necessity die. "I do not want another ecclesiastical corpse cumbering the earth. When The Salvation Army ceases to be a militant body of red-hot men and women whose supreme business is the saving of souls, I hope it will vanish utterly."

Once he had attracted the poor to himself, Booth realized, he must provide a religious philosophy for his subjects as a practical basis for their inner regeneration. Sermons were built around the Army's doctrines, as understood from the following description of a typical open-air sermon of an Army worker. Speaking to approximately forty ragged people grouped around the door of a public house, she said:

You are wrong . . . you know you are. This misery and poverty is proof. You are prodigals. You have left your Father's house, and you are rebelling against Him every day. . . . He has given His Son, Jesus Christ, to die for you. He wants to save you. Come to Him. He is waiting with open arms. I know the Devil has a fast hold on you, but Jesus will give you grace to conquer him. He will help you to master your wicked habits and your love of drink.

The note of warning in the speaker's voice further characterized the religious philosophy underlying Booth's scheme. Booth's God was all-merciful. He showed a compassion that was sufficient for the needs of suffering mankind. But, she admonished, He dealt firmly, and so the sinner was cautioned that death was speeding toward him, and the awful Judgment would follow. She asked earnestly, "When the harvest is past and the summer of your life is over, will you be found with the wheat or the chaff?"

The belief in the all-sufficiency of Christ was further revealed by her fellow workers who sang in unison beneath the lamppost that cast its flickering light on the small circle of consecrated faces:

Bring Him thy sorrow,
Bring Him thy tears,
Bring Him thy heartaches and thy fear.
Tell Him plainly how thou dost feel,
Ever believing, Jesus can heal.

Whatever conditions of life existed—the economic burden, the filth, the squalor, the disease—each could be swept completely away by the powerful hand of God.

As the little audience increased, the loud roll of the drums announced a uniformed worker who stood alone near the center of the circle which his comrades formed. He played his concertina and in a husky outdoor voice sang simple expression of Booth's belief:

Oh, the drunkard may come,
Or the swearer may come;
Backsliders and sinners are all welcome home.
If you will but believe
And be washed in the Blood,
For ever and ever you will dwell with the Lord.

Thomas Huxley saw no good in adoption of Booth's "corybantic Christianity." The excitement of the religious emotions by Booth's unusual methods was not a desirable or a trustworthy way of permanently amending the conduct of mankind. Huxley felt that the testimony of past and present history was adverse to such a belief. Charles Booth was impressed with the blank indifference on the part of out-of-door listeners attracted to the Army's meetings. The Army failed to cause any great numbers of men to yield or to give attention to its message. The presence of such small outdoor bands of workers could not suffice as a means of bringing religion to the masses. Heightened emotions could do little of permanent benefit. The marching Salvationists

returned to their halls accompanied only by a few children. But Christ had said, "A little child shall lead them," and with this in mind, Booth was able to counter Charles Booth's apparent lack of belief in the value of attracting children. Booth himself specifically stated that if he failed to benefit the bodies and souls of men with his scheme—if he failed to save the fathers—"I shall make a better chance for the children."

Booth would provide a religious belief for the needy to hear. He would then direct a psychological coercion which implied the aggressive imposition of this belief over an opposing one as his workers sought to bring about its acceptance in the minds of individual subjects. Such coercion is apparent in the following account of experience from Booth's small-scale social work of the eighties:

. . . At the close of our meetings our officers go from seat to seat, and if they see anyone who shows signs of being affected by the speeches or the singing, at once sit down beside him and begin to labor with him for the salvation of his soul.

This method of aggressive pleading is encountered often:

The captain visited him at night, but was quickly thrown out of the house. He was there again and prayed and talked with S. for nearly two hours. Poor S. was in despair. He persisted that there was no mercy for him. After a long struggle, however, hope sprang up, he fell upon his knees, confessed his sins and obtained forgiveness.

Moving amongst an indoor or outdoor congregation of needy followers, Booth's workers sought to coerce their clientele by assuring them that their Jesus was mighty to save from the utmost to the uttermost, reaching into the deep pits of the social and economic structure of mankind. The captains and the lieutenants pleaded that the individual listener should not turn Him away, for He was a patient Christ. He would knock again at

the heart's door, bearing forgiveness for the prodigal who had many times strayed. It would be such a simple matter for the individual to accept Him. He was only a step away. He waited to receive the sinner. The captain would plead:

Come and thy sin confessing,
Thou shalt receive a blessing.
Do not reject the mercy He freely offers thee.

And another note of warning:

Oh, how you will need Him to plead your cause
On that great Judgment Day!
Don't turn the Saviour away from your heart,
Don't turn Him away.

For all who listened and believed the simple truths pronounced by the ardent Salvationists, a heavenly welcome mat would be laid out to receive them. The sinner did not have to come alone. The workers would help him to the drumhead, which would suffice in its simplicity as an altar of prayer. They pleaded further:

Oh, Jesus my Saviour will welcome sinners home. Sinner, don't delay. Just as you are the Lord will save you. Come without delay. Will you do it? Will you do it now? If any poor discouraged heart wants our salvation, come, and we will help you find your way.

Booth was pleased to report that he had seen tens of thousands kneel before God under the influence of these coercing forces. He had seen them come tearfully and humbly to the penitent form. They were embarrassed at the throne of God for their shameful waste of life, but they came to ask that Jesus should hear their humble pleading. This was the expression of the human initiative that Wesley had seen in his people. This was man co-operating with God. This was a stranger finally confident of a Divine response.

Booth often observed one kneel at the altar, accompanied by an Army lieutenant, while the audience sang:

My great needs are known to Thee:
Come, oh, come to me,
Revealing all Thy grace can do in me.

In one instance at the altar Booth was quiet. Attentive. He moved his strong frame slightly forward and adjusted the biting neck piece of his blue-serge tunic. Now he could see more comfortably the two kneeling there at the mercy seat. That sight to him was like the blowing of the heavenly gales and the steady ripple of the cleansing stream. He had been to that stream himself, plunged headlong beneath blanketing waves that foamed with forgiveness, and "now, hallelujah, the rest of my days shall gladly be spent in promoting His praise!"

A hovering, guilty sinner at a penitent form represented man and God meeting on contractual terms. A man was saying, "I'll give my heart; I'll do my part." And God was replying, "For my part I'll give you security and a furnished home in Heaven if you will go out from this meeting and become a fisher of men for me." The fundamental goal for all of Booth's preaching was centered in this moment. This was the vibrant climax, when the sharp-pointed reality of devilish forks met, head on, the vibrating harp strings of Heaven. This was the testing time, God's welcoming challenge to a man convicted. Sniping impishness, caged and violent, raged insidiously but furiously in the sinner's heart to subdue the purity and holiness that sought entrance through a kneeling price. That price was confession, which, Booth knew, the most ragged sinner could readily afford.

He looked carefully down at the altar place again. He swallowed hard and tensed himself. Salty water lolled out of a hundred forehead openings to wiggle uncertainly along branching rivulets above his shaggy brow. His lids became turtle jaws and snapped and sealed themselves together, as a devoted mind established intervening contact with Heaven. Booth knew that if he failed here he had lost a soul for God.

The lieutenant whispered sympathetically to the sinner, whose eyes by now were welling with tears. "Tell Him that you believe you've sinned before Him and have fallen out of His favor."

And the sobbing sinner said, "I know I've sinned and let God down."

The aggressive lassie, moving slightly to shift the weight of her body upon her knee but still firmly gripping his bending shoulder, went further: "You've got to believe He loves you and all your people at home and around the sinful neighborhood, but He hates your sin."

"I believe that. I knew for many weeks I should come down 'ere to the altar."

"But you *have* come," she replied, with a peculiar, almost angelic, sweetness upon her knowing face, "and now, hallelujah, just by doing that, half of our victory's won! Glory be to God!"

And she continued her softly spoken message, highlighted often by a gladsome "Praise God" as she eagerly rejoiced from her own life's knowledge while telling the poor sinner about the matchless greatness of it all. She told him simply that Christ died for all men and made salvation possible for those who believed upon Him. She related the tremendous force of the Holy Spirit, a guiding and ever-present help through life. It was that spirit which had convicted him of his errors and inclined him to the altar for this needed prayer of confession.

She explained to him—always kneeling, always pressing her uniformed arm carefully around his drooping shoulder—that in exchange for the sincere sorrow, the humility of his prayer-bent knee and the truthful confession of his willful wrongs, his sins would be forgiven him. They would be blotted out of the eternal record and cast into the sea of God's forgetfulness, never to be remembered against him any more.

He listened intently, wept pitifully, and prayed silently himself as she described in terms of her own experience how he could rise from the mercy seat that very night a new creature in Christ Jesus. Regenerated! What a complete mental and emotional advancement over the sordid depression of his affliction with the burning drinks of the "flaming gin palaces" he had regularly frequented. What a glorious feeling to go out known as a child of God, numbered amongst the hosts of the redeemed, to tell others, "It is well with my soul. I have accepted my charge, and

I shall keep it. My life is in tune with the Master's. I am on the Lord's side now!" And he would be safely fortified against the frightful mockery of any who might not yet believe, because he could take with him the blessed witness of the Holy Spirit. He could lose himself in service to others; he could overcome the psychological bruises of failures along the way. His fears of the future would fade away. His sensitivities and human weakness would pass into the periphery of his consciousness. The sharp light of God, splitting the long-encompassing darkness of his soul, would illumine a new and unselfish theme for his life. In the twinkling of an eye he would grow bigger. He would mature from childhood to manhood. He would make friends with God, the biggest of all men; God would offer His hand in tenderness and say, "I'm glad you have come, my son. I want your time and talents to use in saving other lost and sinful souls. Welcome home!"

In accepting the hand of God, the redeemed progressed to a new level of thought and life. He attained a spiritual plane of belief and action. He lifted himself above the material world of tangible empiricism into a new world of the spirit, where the rule of life is centered in faith—"the hope of things not yet seen." He would be good. He would be clean. He would wear the smile of God's approval.

The brass band played softly a hymn about the sweet waters of joy and Christian duty. Then the little audience sang further songs of seeking Christ, pleading with Him to come into the heart of this miserably penitent brother. They understood his feelings, for they had similarly wrestled with conviction. They had confessed. They had been adopted by God. They had been regenerated in heart and mind.

The officer who was leading the service stood before an improvised speaker's stand that was covered by a delicately placed scarf neatly worn with use. A securely tacked paper announcement upon the west wall of the building told in advance that the General would attend the meeting. Booth sat rigidly in a chair just behind and somewhat to the right of the officer. The audience was small, since this was a new outpost of Army effort, and under such a circumstance even Booth's presence

failed to draw an overflowing crowd. Most of the audience had been attracted by the open-air activity and had forsaken their sin to "line up with God." The rinsed smell of water dried on splintery wooden floors hinted of the proud cleaning activity that had been conducted in preparation for Booth's visit.

The officer prayed fervently for God to save the sinner. Then there was another congregational song . . . another prayer. The second prayer was interrupted, and all eyes opened and fell upon the confessor as he suddenly rose, pushed the lieutenant jubilantly aside, and shouted, "Captain, I have found Jesus. Glory hallelujah! I am ready now to tell you about it. I know my sins are under the Blood!"

"Is your guilt gone?"

"My guilt is gone. My soul is free."

"Are you peaceful?"

"My peace is made with God, for the Lord has pardoned me!"

Then Booth took charge of the meeting. He called for an immediate celebration of this encouraging victory. While angelic hosts of Heaven gathered round the great white throne to talk excitedly to God and to pluck their harps and sing about it, Booth wanted his warriors to gather about him and express a similar joy.

Everyone in the meeting, the old and the young, formed a long single line. Booth, of course, got right up to the head of it. Down the narrow aisles that separated the bare, rough benches, "left-face, right-face," around the citadel—a converted theater—he led them. Just behind Booth the newly acquired "heart for God," which Booth called his "trophy," stepped vigorously. The officer of the corps followed, and then the drummer, a heavily moustached former thief whom Booth had picked up from the Old Bailey. The band members, three brawny men and a single woman who had been troubled throughout the meeting by a rasping, disturbing cough, demonstrated the best of military steps. Their brassy tunes on tarnished horns were surprisingly harmonious. Thirty-eight members of the congregation brought up the rear.

Around and around the hall they went—singing, clapping, beating the drum, puffing at the instruments, thrilling tears of his spiritual babyhood leaping from the cheeks of the trophy. Louder and louder the joyful sounds became. Higher and higher stepped the happy warriors. Yet at the very peak of emotion in the tramping cadence of this holy experience there was no hysteria from anyone. There were no trances, no visions, no tongues, no falling down. Only the innocent and joyous marching. A conversion was simply something one had to rejoice about. It was a treasured possession, and Booth brought a convert into the trophy room of God with swelling notes of sacred elation. "My sins which were many are all washed away. We'll all shout 'hallelujah' as we march along. Fire a volley!"

After five minutes the marching ceased. The corps officer then broke ranks and asked the saved brother for another word of praise for God. Then while the others stood at ease, and while Booth looked up toward Heaven, the redeemed one reviewed, in exactly eighteen seconds and in remarkably clear terms, his complete life of sin and how God had heard his confession and forgave. He panted audibly from his marching. He swayed his body nervously, and the backs of his hands yielded a fine quantity of perspiration while he talked. When he mentioned God's forgiveness in his testimony, the hall resounded immediately with a barrage of "Oh, Praise His Holy Name," "Oh, Jesus, Wonderful Jesus!" and the characteristic "Hallelujah." Then at a pleasant nod from William Booth, the officer assumed his former place on the platform. He looked up and rapidly shot his right hand into the air as if he could almost touch the throne of the Saviour. He squinted his eyes tightly together. His lips broke open to bear a grin of warm satisfaction as he verbally thanked God "for what our ears have heard tonight, and for the wonderful manifestation of thy Grace in this human heart." Then after a brief period of enthusiastic hand shaking and assurances of continued prayer for the trophy at the back of the hall, Booth and his soldiers left and headed for home.

But before the convert departed, he turned around and

walked quietly and alone down the aisle toward the front again. There in the final silence of that foggy London night he looked once more upon the rough-hewn, narrow mourner's bench where he had taken all his anxiety and all his care. In the stillness of that midnight moment he gained the thrilling inner surge of a new assurance. In that broken-down theater Christ had washed away his sin. At an altar stained with teardrops Christ had left him with a song.

In speaking of the confession of such a trophy, Booth said, "Let not that word 'confession' scandalize any. Confession of the most open sort . . . has long been one of the most potent forces by which the Salvation Army has won its victories." In presenting an example of the practical application of confession in public testimony, he said that his people "tell their mates how this conversion experience has come about, and urge all who hear them to try for themselves and see whether it is not a good and happy thing to be soundly saved." However, George Bernard Shaw would not accept Booth's advocacy of confession. Shaw believed confession was a "nasty lying habit" encouraged by the Army because it lent itself to "dramatic oratory with plenty of thrilling incident." A high morality could never be achieved in any society in which the people conceive that their misdeeds are revocable and pardonable at a penitent form. The danger lying in such forgiveness became obvious, according to Shaw, when society began to idolize and almost to worship an individual who before his conversion had wasted himself in lavish prodigality. Such a person began to idolize himself, to live up to the treatment he received. Shaw said:

He preaches sermons; he writes books of the most edifying advice to young men, and actually persuades himself that he got on by taking his own advice; he endows educational institutions; he supports the charities; he dies finally in the odor of sanctity.

After his conversion and initial testimony to a new-found life in Christ, the individual was not destined, necessarily, to a

sure, eternal salvation. Once converted, the brother or sister might easily lapse into conditions of sinfulness after leaving the Christly associations of church or Salvation Army contacts. The conversion experience to which the individual testified depended for its value in acquiring eternal reward on the individual's constant identification of himself with the Master. His dependence upon Christ must be complete.

Through such identification carried on hourly and daily with Jesus, one was justified in testifying to the listener that skies were clear above him, and that he was experiencing pure joy within. His heart was clean, for Jesus was constantly abiding with him here. But his submission and identification with Christ must be so complete that wherever his Jesus led he would follow on.

Booth recognized that in man's selfishness there had been a wide departure from the practical guiding principle in which Jesus commanded man to love his neighbor as he loved himself. Loving one's neighbor was something besides a state of mind. It was more than an emotion. It implied helpful doing. The Master's second great social commandment was the reclamation of social relations through service to humanity. It was the logical outcome of the concern which Jesus had for the solidarity of the race. It meant that the saved individual must demonstrate his faith by his works. The changed life of the individual thus became a productive social force.

The salvation of the individual had been the supreme object of the Master; it was the supreme object of William Booth. That spiritual salvation was a social salvation. It should reflect accordingly on social actions. James presented a broad statement of the relation of these two parts of Christian experience when he asked, "What good is it, my brother, if a man profess to have faith, and yet his actions do not correspond?" Abraham was informed that it is because of actions that a man is pronounced righteous, and not simply because of his faith.

A modification of vocational and interest patterns through substitution of former activity by faithful works is illustrated in Booth's case history of Rose. She had led a "dreadful, drunken,

reckless, dissipated life" and was often imprisoned. On release from jail for the last time, she met a group of singing Salvationists. She followed them to the barracks. She found her way to the penitent form, where "Christ, with His own precious blood, washed her sins away." Shortly thereafter, Rose became "'War Cry Sergeant.' She goes into the brothels and gin palaces and other haunts of vice, from which she was rescued, and sells more papers than any other soldier."

Shaw criticized such expression of faith through works as seen in the case of Rose. He detected an intense moral inconsistency in such a channel of self-expression. He was impressed by the fact that publicans gave Salvation Army converts money and allowed them to collect it in the bar—sometimes even when there were workers just outside preaching teetotalism. Shaw felt that The Salvation Army was economically deadlocked, since as a moral agency it depended upon money for its operations—money which was provided by such men as the distiller and his drinking client. In the Army's effort to remove the social burden of drunkenness and sin, its appeal was dependent upon a financial source that was at the very root of the social condition. Instead of reflecting the redeeming power of God, the Army convert actually expressed the power of unrighteous businessmen upon whom his livelihood depended.

In attempting a justification of this financial method, an officer of The Salvation Army argued that the soldiers gladly would take money from the Devil himself, in order to give it to God. Booth, in response to a similar criticism that he had taken a "dirty duke's dirty money," replied that it was not dirty after he had received it. He had washed it clean in the tears of the widows and orphans who had received its benefits.

In broader terms of Christian charity, Shaw could not reconcile a Christian life with the business life. All money available for charity purposes was tainted just as if it had come from the brewer. There were other thinkers who expressed a similar belief in speaking of Christian charity. The business life of England was intrinsically evil. There was no such thing as an ethical bargain. The horrible industrial war made the commercial

system appear as a victory of Hell on earth. For Shaw the church had become the handmaiden of selfishness and evil that underlay the modern business world. He represented his feelings on this question in the play *Major Barbara* when he created Andrew Undershaft as the successful, powerful and ungodly businessman who gloated while he held The Salvation Army as a puppet in his hands. Undershaft was rich and confident, enjoyed his liquor and made himself wealthy by manufacturing weapons of modern warfare. But he gave money to The Salvation Army.

Barbara, daughter of Undershaft, joined Booth's Army and became a major. She found happiness in the Army for a moment. She enjoyed her paradise of enthusiasm and singing and soul-saving. But suddenly the money required to continue her charitable work ran short. The fact came to her that she actually was dependent upon such money as her father provided. It was such men as he and his friend Bodger, the distiller, who gave surplus money for Army activity. Their tainted money "saved our people." Their hands stretched everywhere. When Barbara fed a starving fellow creature, it was with her father's bread, because "there is no other bread." When she tended the sick, she did so in hospitals that unclean money endowed. If she turned from the churches that their wicked money built, "we must kneel on the stones of the streets they pave."

The influence which Undershaft of the play and movie *Major Barbara* has had upon the public's conception of William Booth's social-welfare program will perhaps never be evaluated. But Shaw's presentation of The Salvation Army's financial deadlock appears restricted and less meaningful when more attention is directed to the problem. It is true that there are crookedness and greed enough on the surface of the business world, just as the surface of a flowing stream bears along much scum and froth. But the stream itself as it sweeps through the ages carries in its current not a means of crippling the age but a means of satisfying its needs. The rise of new businessmen and the creation of new forms of business proceeds, as a rule, not so much from one's desire to spread the blood and destruction of Undershaft or the alcohol of Bodger in the world as from a desire to serve it.

Further, there are tragedies enough in personal loss created in business by introduction of improved mechanical methods; yet, by increasing the productivity and thereby decreasing unit costs, even the machinery of the workaday world becomes the poor man's friend and not his enemy. In the main, the most successful businessmen are those who base their service on the discernment of real needs and who supply ready benefits. There are many wise and successful businessmen who commit themselves and their philanthropy to the great current of human need and so make themselves laborers together with God. One may feel with assurance that there were more types of businessmen involved in financing Booth's program than that one represented by Andrew Undershaft.

Another example of replacing undesirable habits by good work is presented:

EMMA Y.—Now a soldier of the Marylebone Slum Post, was a wild young slummer when we opened in the Boro'; could be generally seen in the streets, wretchedly clad, her sleeves turned up, idle, only worked occasionally, got saved two years ago . . . We got her a situation, where she has been for nearly eighteen months, and is now a good servant.

Soldiership in The Salvation Army itself provided other means of substituting new habits for the old, thus creating an expression of faith through socio-religious work. After the conversion experience, the individual might spend his time as a soldier in revealing his conversion and inviting others to come to the Saviour. In the street procession or meeting, the individual might proudly proclaim that he was a soldier, and his home was with The Salvation Army. As a soldier of the Salvation band he had taken his stand against the Devil and was determined to combat his evil forces. And to those whom he knew as associates, he would offer his blood-and-fire banner, asking them to enlist and come with him. He was confident that as soldiers they would be happy in a mighty victory.

But Booth dealt with men, and even converted men were subject to moods of discouragement and despair. In his con-

sidering the establishment of a special department in his scheme for hearing the problems of the discouraged, the belief that such would serve as a channel of emotional and mental catharsis may be interpreted from a statement by Booth:

Men and women, weary and worn in the battles of life, need someone to whom they can go when pressed down with a sense of wrongs suffered or done, knowing that their confidence will be preserved inviolate, and that their statements will be received with sympathy.

Such a cathartic measure meant the acknowledgment of a need of prayer by disheartened individuals. Obtaining practical counsel from the officer, the individual with his adviser would then approach the Throne of God to plead for added strength to conquer. This was the logical thing to do, for, "Where should I lodge my deep complaint but with Thee, whose open door invites the helpless and the poor?" The individual could expect from Christ a renewal of hope. But regardless of the desire that the individual should be led from evil to good, he must pray, asking that his unbelief, however small, be replaced by an unwavering faith. He must believe firmly that relief would surely appear in the form God chose. "By prayer let me wrestle, and He will perform. With Christ in the vessel, I will smile at the storm!"

The religious conversion experience and the maintenance of the Christian life as understood and interpreted by William Booth was the end to which all of the Darkest England Scheme's proposals were directed. In addition to the aspects of his social-welfare methods that may be termed religious, there are also the economic methods, the family methods, and the governmental or social-control methods that must be analyzed for a full conception of Booth as a social reformer.

When Booth looked into "God's Holy Word" for specific ideological and managerial directions on how he should approach the economic aspects of leading men from the darkness, he could find no practical and lasting made-to-order scheme. Throughout his philosophy of the redemption of men runs the fundamental

teachings of Christ as the basic answer to the problem. But Booth was not able to find in the record that Christ prescribed a specific form of industrial arrangement for his children. Jesus for the most part declined to give such legislation even for those social questions that were actually laid before Him for decision. Christ was more concerned with the condition of a man's heart and spirit than He was with an analysis of the social components of specific problems in which that man was involved. He was more interested in the spiritual root of the individual problem than in its manifest nature. By the removal of the root, which was spiritual, Christ knew, the difficulty and its outward evidences would automatically disappear. Christ himself was not a governor or an industrial manager. He was a revealer. He interpreted the spiritual nature of human relationships when He said to Pilate that His Kingdom was not of this world, but that He had come into the world to bear witness unto the truth. He taught through a desire to direct industrial forces of ambition and emulation away from purely economic satisfaction toward a true spiritual end. In industrial relations Christ wanted to see a literal application of the principles of His Sermon on the Mount. Such desire is encountered many times in Old and New Testament references to the problem of "deceitful riches" and the "corruption of private property."

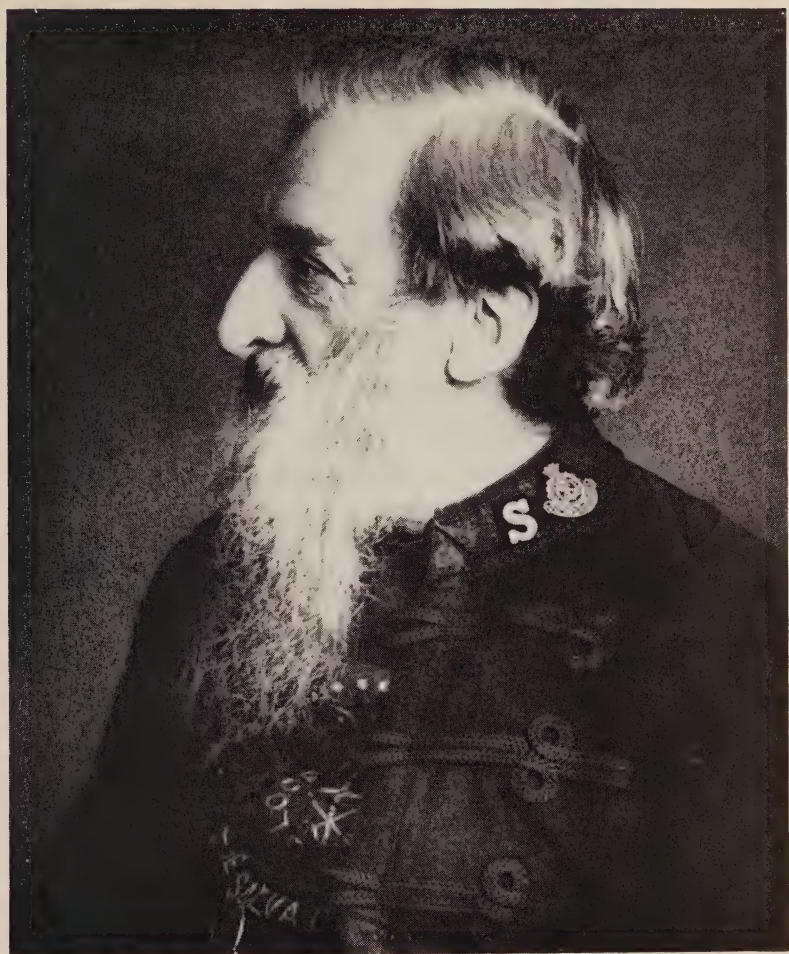
Booth's economic proposals reflected the sentiments of Christ. Booth followed Christ's feeling in directing attention to the spiritual root of the problem of poverty. His proposal became a reaction against the possession of riches and private property. It was directed toward the practical expression of goodness that flowed out of the hearts of men who had been made right with God. In presenting it, Booth was vividly reminiscent of Peter when Peter stood on the day of Pentecost to tell the house of Israel about their only sure way to acquire the salvation of God. Peter told them to repent and be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ. And they did so and increased in numbers. It is recorded in the Acts that they continued steadfast in the apostle's doctrine and prayers and saw signs and wonders. They held all possessions in common within their group. They sold their earnings and divided

their gains. They broke their bread and ate their meat with gladness and singleness of heart.

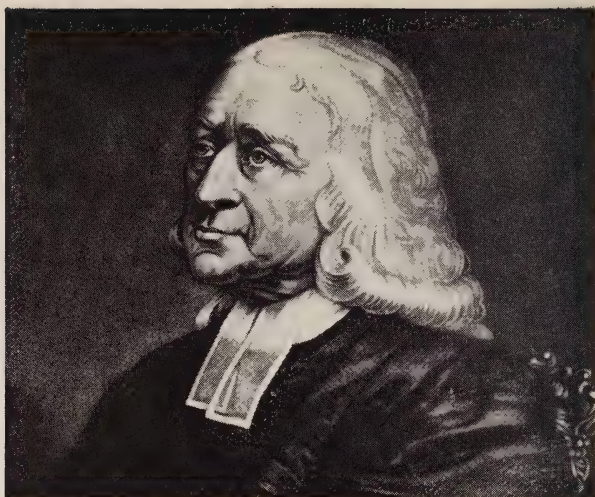
A number of other specialized religious or sectarian economic groups within the Hebrew-Christian tradition have appeared from time to time. They represented various efforts or experiments of different men or groups of men to realize some ideal principle in overcoming a problem of human relations. Such groups attempted to organize their lives on a collectivistic basis. Most frequently they stressed community property in consumption of goods. Occasionally production also was organized along communistic lines. Sexual relations, however, were usually conducted in accord with traditional moral and religious concepts. Some of them advocated celibacy and either restricted their membership to a single sex or segregated the sexes within the community. Others regarded celibacy as at least the preferred state. Still others accepted and encouraged the individualistic family life as divinely blessed and established.

At no time in the history of England were such community economic proposals more popular than during William Booth's nineteenth century; and just as is true of his social-welfare thought, so there is futility in an effort to read much originality into the methods that he laid down for lifting his poor from their despair. The economic foundation of his proposals was simply a restatement of certain economic convictions and principles that were written about and expressed in practice by numerous other workers of the century before and during his time. This fact is readily brought out by a brief review of the practices of others who sought a more harmonious life for groups of people with specialized interests or problems.

First consider the Rappists, a German group founded and directed by George Rapp. This group was known as the Harmony Society. Rapp himself was the actual dictator of this communistic theocracy. Rapp confined his attention to religious affairs. He accepted communism as the means of gaining spiritual values, without contradicting or conflicting with civil authorities. Then consider the Amarites of the Amana Society in America during the last century. Life for this group was plain and austere.



WILLIAM BOOTH IN 1900



JOHN WESLEY, METHODIST

He inspired Booth's early ministry. "There is one God; John Wesley was His prophet, and the Methodists are his special people."



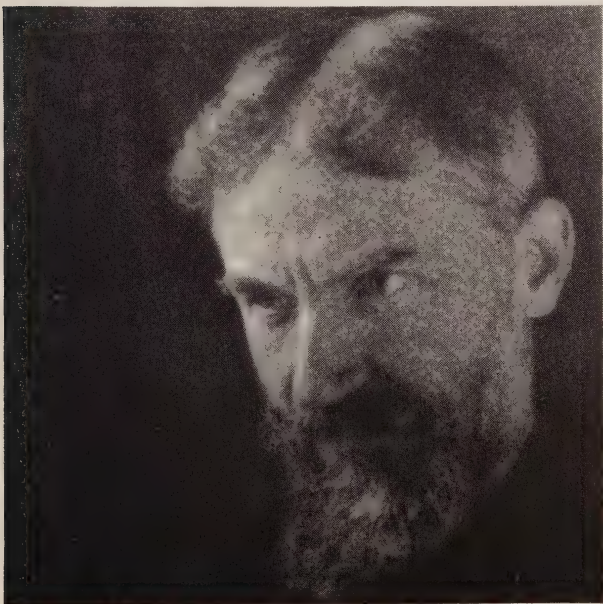
CATHERINE BOOTH, WIFE

She bore Booth's sons and daughters, preached his beliefs in a poke bonnet for forty years, and died writhing of the pain of cancer.



BRAMWELL BOOTH, SON

"He moved wearily to a place before a plain, straight chair and dropped down quickly upon his prayer-worn knees. He put his grieving face behind . . . his muscular palm. Then, while the tremendous audience sang 'How Can I E'er Repay the Debt of Love I Owe?' Bramwell . . . wanted to cry, but his battle had only begun. . . ."



GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, PLAYWRIGHT

Christian businessmen were nonexistent. . . . Booth could never achieve a high morality.



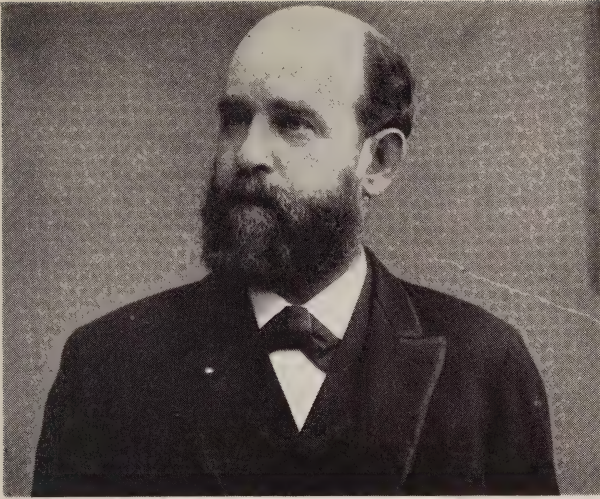
CHARLES H. SPURGEON, MINISTER

Booth's shouting, drums and colored placards brought religion into contempt.



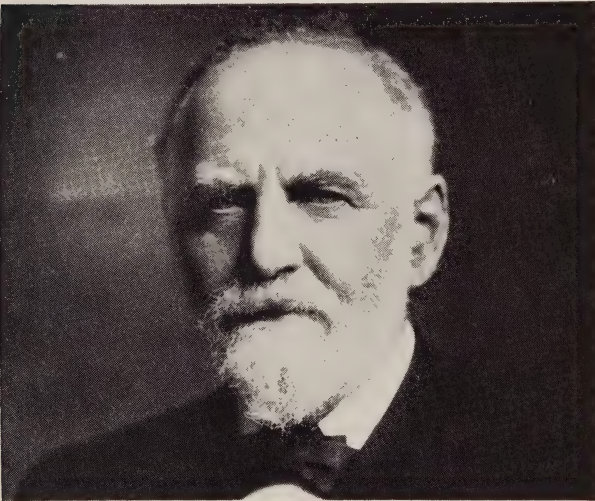
THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, BIOLOGIST

Men, like dogs, must struggle brutishly. Booth's disguised socialism could not prevent it.



HENRY GEORGE, PHILOSOPHER

Booth's program of social salvation ranks with the most unique and encouraging of the nineteenth century.



W. T. STEAD, EDITOR

He threw the force of his editorial skill behind the army and was imprisoned in Booth's behalf.



GYPSY SMITH, EVANGELIST

Salvation Army methods won his heart. He became an early officer of Booth's shock troops of the Lord.



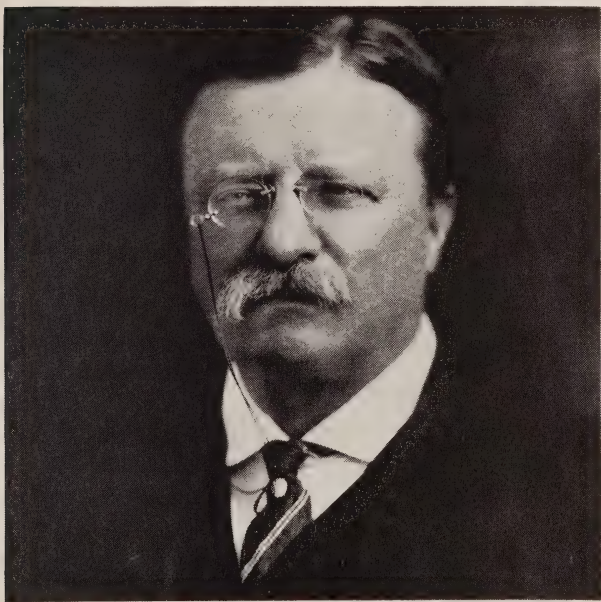
FREDERICK BOOTH-TUCKER, JUDGE

He left his robe and bench to enlist in the holy war and to act as Booth's commissioner.



CECIL RHODES, STATESMAN

The social scheme deserved support. He offered lands in Africa for Booth's poor to cultivate.

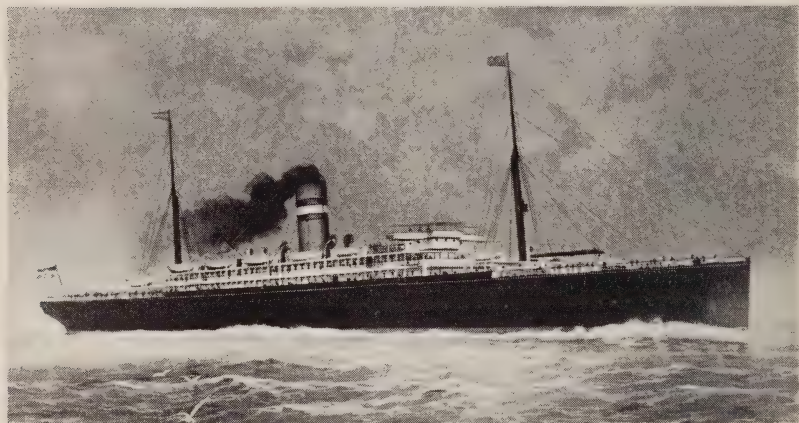


THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT

He extended his hand and welcomed Booth to the White House, and Booth offered prayer in the Senate,



Acres and acres of eager, useful earth unfolded like thick, fawn-brown carpets at his feet. . . . A thousand living sounds from . . . barnyards and terraces mixed into one haunting and satisfying stimulus to farm chores and harvest. . . . "My remedy is to get the people to work on the land."



A salvation ship for the poor that would "pour them forth onto the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands."



While cynics had their holiday . . .



. . . Booth kept his eye upon the Promised Land.



While many scoffed at his
methods . . .



. . . he traveled around the earth . . .



... and became a fool for
Christ's sake ...



... so that all the world could know the
joy of social redemption.



Modern training colleges for teaching young people . . .



. . . to sing and preach and pray about the beauties of a great salvation . . .



. . . reclaiming waste materials from households of the city . . .



. . . and rendering unselfish service to all mankind.



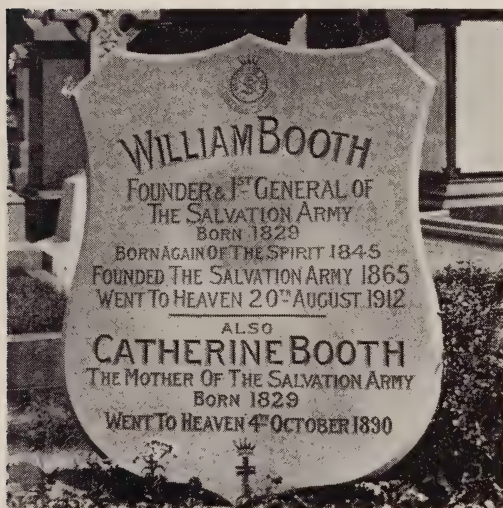
From lowly birth in a humble home in Nottingham . . .



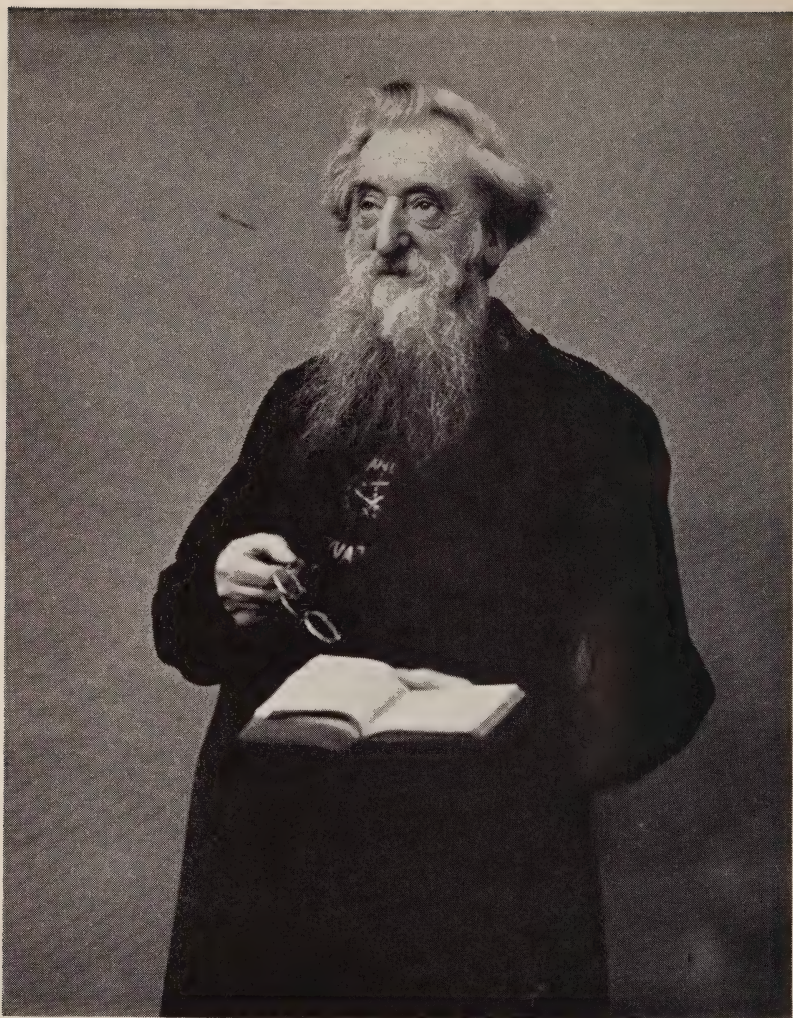
. . . Booth regimented men and women, gave them bonnets and caps and horns and drums, and told them to play the melody of God's forgiveness. (A visit to Penzance, 1881.)



Always the bearded prophet, Booth emerged from his London headquarters one day in 1905 to receive the Freedom of the City of London . . .



. . . and finally swapped a cross for a crown and a furnished home in Heaven.



WILLIAM BOOTH IN 1910

From the faith of a mustard seed . . . a tree grew up for the stranger.

There was no adornment in dress or in household furnishings. In their religious life hymns were encouraged. Musical instruments were permitted. From the standpoint of the family, marriage was allowed but not extolled. The sexes were separated at meals, at church services and at work, which consisted of diversified industries. As a further example of the community economic ideal, there were the American communities of Dr. William Keil at Bethel, Missouri, and at Aurora, Oregon. In these communities a self-sustaining economy was developed on a barter basis. No money was used. Beliefs were simple and elastic in most matters except the common devotion to the co-operative ideal. There were no restrictions on diet or on dress. There were few formal regulations on conduct. The only creed was that they should "love one another." They believed that government should be parental, since this was the government of God. Keil's rule was regal, though it was mild and just. As another example, the English Shaker communities were made up of successful colonists who were excellent farmers and skillful mechanics. The practical co-operative work of Robert Owen in his New Harmony Colony was an effort to free men from a "trinity of monstrous evils" which Owen defined as private property, absurd and irrational systems of religion, and marriage that was based on individual property.

Now picture a great body of poor people—3,000,000 strong. Surrounding them and watching out for their interests is a large Army of angelic enthusiasts. In the center of this Army of workers and surveying the need before him stands William Booth. And Booth looks up to God and tells Him that he believes he can deliver them from the darkness and despair. God supports him and tells him to go out and fetch them with his Army of horns and preaching, then colonize them. This Divine inspiration for colonization brings Booth's plan directly into line with those of Rapp and Keil and Owen. Booth thought he heard God's call to colonize the poor into a great co-operative community of property and production with a variety of labor tasks to choose from. To Booth, his communities were to be divinely inspired and established patriarchal groups. Celibacy would not

be advocated—indeed, the marriage state would be much preferred by his clients. The patriarchal families would be held together around specific ideas of right and wrong conduct that Booth had laid down in his Salvation Army creed and in his orders and regulations for the officers and soldiers of The Salvation Army. His poor were to be content with simplicity of dress and household furnishings. They were to express the joy of their regenerated lives with singing and clapping and marching to the music and the drum. They would hold Booth in authority, for Booth proposed that he should become in effect the dictator of this co-operative theocracy. The final authoritative control of the lands and properties of his colonists would rest in his own hands. In placing himself in dictatorial control of his Army and his Darkest England community Booth did not anticipate or invite conflict with or contradiction of the civil authority of the general population of the more fortunate of England. He followed the example of Christ in desiring to give to Caesar what was Caesar's and to God what belonged to God. Concerning the government of the lands in which Salvationists were found, Booth wrote in his rules and regulations:

As a Russian agent traveling through France would consider he had nothing to do with its form of government, its laws, or its parliamentary discussions, any further than they concerned him for the short time he was in the country, so the Salvation soldier considers that he is a pilgrim . . . in this world, and is not interested in the manner of its government any further than it concerns his welfare for the time being and the interests of the Kingdom of God, which he represents.

From a functional economic standpoint, the Darkest England Social Scheme may be interpreted as a co-operative colonial enterprise. Booth proposed that a spirit of mutual helpfulness and co-operation prevail throughout the operation of the city colony, the farm colony and the colony overseas, for he felt that no good could be expected from competitive aspirations. He anticipated economic success, since work would be available

and his officers would insist that the subjects take it. He would employ the people according to their differences of ability.

Booth asked the public for 100,000 pounds to aid in initiating the establishment of his colonies. This should be added to annually by a subsidy of 30,000 pounds. With the passage of time he believed that most of his proposals would become self-supporting.

The city colony would be located near London. This would be composed of a number of institutions which would house the destitute, supply their immediate passing needs and furnish temporary employment. Inspiration with hope for the future would be provoked. A process of social regeneration would be begun by the application of the moral and religious influence of officers and soldiers of The Salvation Army whom Booth had assigned to duty in the scheme.

Hand in hand with the developing city colony, special attention would be directed toward a general and aggressive crusade to provide the specialized temporal needs of various types of individuals. The number of "slum sisters," who were special officers to strengthen the contact with conditions in the homes of crowded areas, would be increased. A traveling hospital would be established to bring necessary medical care to slum sections. Prison-gate brigades which met the discharged prisoner and assisted him in his return to society would grow larger. Preventive homes for "unfallen girls when in danger" would sprout. Refuges for children of the streets would be established. Asylums for "moral lunatics," whom Booth defined as the hopeless cases, would take the place of the jail. As a part of his effort to develop the three colonies, an advice bureau for supplying information and understanding of personal problems would be set up. The poor man's bank would make loans to a client without the ordinarily required interest of 10 per cent. The poor man's lawyer would shield the subject who might otherwise be trapped by legal ignorance. The matrimonial bureau would attract individuals who desired marriage.

With the passage of time the city colony would provide food and shelter for every man. There would be a variety of

factories set up which would give employment to the regimented unemployed. The "household-salvage brigade" would be organized as a collection agency for gathering waste paper, rags, umbrellas, shoes, tins, bottles and bones from the households of London. In the factories the poor who had been without work would turn these materials into useful articles.

Individuals who remained on hand would after a time be sent from the city colony to the farm colony. Here the same types of industrial, moral and religious methods that characterized the city colony would be directed toward their salvage. Booth envisioned a counter-migration toward rural areas. He would encourage the transfer of large tribes of people from urban to rural lands. Thus a great many problems lying at the base of the social structure would be solved.

We shall have a great labor exchange between town and country, so that when there is scarcity in one place and congestion in another, there will be information immediately sent, so that the surplus labor can be drafted into those districts where labor is wanted. Extend this system all over the world and make it not only applicable to the transfer of workers between towns and the provinces, but between country and country, and it is impossible to exaggerate the enormous advantage which would result.

Booth's cry was for returning the people to the soil. "My remedy is to get the people to work on the land. The real reason why people crowd to the centers is because they care more for the excitement and all that city life gives them than for the mere ability to subsist comfortably."

In the farm colony, seasonal intensive "little agriculture" would be developed. Colonists would make their own bricks. They would build their own houses in addition to making their own clothing and furniture. Before a great length of time had elapsed, agricultural villages would develop around the original farm colony. Allotment farms of from three to five acres with a cottage, a cow and necessary tools and seed for making the

unit areas self-supporting would be provided. William Booth would stand in the relation of a father to the tenant, who would pay him the rent on his land, but beyond that his obligation to Booth would cease. A store which functioned on co-operative principles would come about, and profits would be divided annually. Allotment farms were suggested in order to take care of some of the people who received the training of the farm colony itself but who were not able to find employment in their own particular vocational lines. The great bulk of this latter category, however, would be passed on to the colony overseas.

Also growing out of the rural farm colony would be the "Workingmen's Agricultural University." This would train the subjects for the life which they would lead in the new countries to which they would be sent for work in the oversea colony. In addition to the skills learned in the Agricultural University, the colonists would be taught (1) strict obedience, (2) patience, (3) forbearance, and (4) affection through the close association and leadership of Salvation Army officers. The emigration would take place in a "Salvation ship," on which each individual would work at various duties during his transport to the colony overseas.

The colony overseas would be built up on a great tract of land. This would be secured in South Africa, Canada, Western Australia or elsewhere. It would be prepared for settlement and have Booth's authority established in it with a government by equitable laws. Assistance would be lent to it in times of necessity as it was settled gradually by "prepared people" who represented the overflow from the city and farm colonies. In this manner the foreign settlement, or oversea colony, of the Darkest England Social Scheme would come about.

The tripartite colonial nature of the scheme may be appreciated by considering the summary vision of Booth. He saw it as—

a great machine . . . receiving thieves, harlots, paupers, drunkards, criminals, prodigals, all alike . . . creating in them habits of industry . . . forwarding

them from the city to the country, and there continuing the process of regeneration, and then pouring them forth on to the virgin soils that await their coming in other lands . . .

Booth stressed the importance of the availability and insistence upon work. Regardless of the season, work would be available. It has been shown that salvaging bottles, rags, clothes, bones, and tins that were discarded by the upper classes was a vital part of Booth's economy. He was class conscious and would thus use one social class to provide raw materials for the clients in his factory system which would develop as a foundation part of the city colony. There would be seasonal agricultural enterprises in the farm colony. Work in the farm colony would provide valuable agricultural experience for many who emigrated to cultivate the lands across the seas. There would be no bestowal of benefits whatever on anyone unless he contributed some return in labor. Not even when friends or relatives supplied money to him would he be permitted to be idle. If charity were solicited when work had been made available, this would be considered a crime. It would be punished as such. Concerning moral lunatics, if one would not work, he would be forced to work. But there would be little likelihood of a refusal to work, because there were only two alternatives—starvation or self-supporting work. In such a case, the second course would be chosen. In addition to these encouraging factors, the officers of the colonies would work with the colonists themselves and would become familiar with practical principles of work which were the essence of good discipline.

Booth would employ his people according to their differences in ability. In the city colony, the farm colony and the colony overseas, he proposed to assign duties according to variations in ability and interest. From the initial experience in the city colony, appointments would be made to farm duty on the basis of major skill, interest, and the past experience of the poor client. The tailor, clerk, weaver, or seamstress would be adjusted to the work to which he had been trained in spite of a lack of agricultural knowledge.

The way out of Darkest England rested in great measure upon the strength and solidarity of the patriarchal family group. Booth wanted to use the regimented poor to exemplify the family idea to the world. "Our Father is the keynote. One is our Father, then all we are brethren." One of the most vital aspects of his methods was the development of the strongest possible family relationships among his clients. In order to assure the realization of this family ideal, he proposed certain specialized efforts. He wanted to see a matrimonial bureau in operation. This would encourage marriages and increase the opportunity of acceptable association between men and women, who in ordinary circumstances in slum areas saw little of each other and so were led into vice and attendant evils. At the same time that the marriage bureau functioned, there would be considerable intermarriage among the members of the colonies. This would prove a fortunate outcome of the plan, since many unattached girls would be absorbed into society. Directing further attention to the problem of family relations, Booth thought especially of soldiership in his Salvation Army. Some of the subjects of the scheme would doubtless be led into a desire to become soldiers of the Army. They would pledge themselves to spend all time, strength, money, and influence in carrying on the effort. In addition, they would endeavor to lead members of their families to adopt similar Salvation Army practices.

Specific attention would be given to family relations in the city colony. Desirable rural family relations were not found in the city, especially among the men who applied singly for aid in a broken and dejected attitude. Booth felt that with these subjects some semblance of a country family spirit could be provoked through interest in the subject's welfare that would be shown by his workers. In the city colony, after the subject had heard of the better things and experienced with the Army worker some of the spirit demonstrated ordinarily in the small community, there would be created in him a longing to re-establish the ties of his own family unit.

Special consideration was given to family relations in the farm colony. On entering the allotment farm, the tenant would

be responsible for his own and for his family's maintenance. Both the men and the women in each case should be able to work. Fruit-farming afforded a great opening for female labor. There would also be some work on the hand loom.

Moving from the farm colony to the colony overseas necessitated a consideration of family relations on the Salvation ship. When the emigration party set off from the shores of England, there would be no wrenching of home ties. Father, mother and children would emigrate together. The individuals would be grouped in families which would have been neighbors for some months past, meeting each other in the fields, in the workshops and at religious services.

Booth wanted homes of various types established. Even in cases in which there was no particular family unit to consider, Booth kept close to the value of the family "home principle." For the children of the streets there would be children's day homes, established in the center of the poor population; for women of the streets there would be rescue homes; for indigent men there would be the poor men's home, where one could keep himself clean and clothed; for the drunkards the city homes would provide kind nursing and tender treatment; for those requiring compulsory confinement there would be the country homes; for the moral lunatics there would be little cottages and little gardens in the green fields; and as the process of regeneration continued and men rose up from the stratum which made up the population of the shelter depots, a sort of superior lodging house, a "poor man's metropole," would take care of their housing needs if they desired to join and remain in The Salvation Army.

Booth was shrewd in his consideration of the methods of social control or governmental plan for his clientele. There were seven significant factors of control. These factors include (1) the expressions of authority of Booth, (2) the scruples of his officers and clients, (3) the intimate system of close personal contact and communication between all levels of the colonial and Salvation Army hierarchy, (4) the specialized and constructive type of education and beliefs that Booth gave his Army and the people of the Darkest England community, (5) the principle

of strong patriarchal family units which rested upon co-operative spiritual and economic security, (6) the use of force and compulsion when necessary, and (7) the employment of propaganda techniques.

Booth stressed the fact that he himself maintained the highest position of his officer hierarchy. From this position he insisted upon obedience. He directed large powers increasingly upward from the lowest ranks to that of "chief of staff," which was next to his own. In proposing control he gave strict attention to individual differences and capacities for work and for directing the work of others. These qualities helped to determine the selection and appointment of directors of various units of the scheme.

The Darkest England Scheme would be regulated from a governmental standpoint by direction from Booth himself as the autocratic central authority. Each individual would feel his direction as it was reflected downward through subordinate Salvation Army officers. There would be no weighing of opinion of the poverty-stricken clients by parliamentary procedure. No individuals would be admitted into the plan of redemption who were not willing to be guided by the will of the autocratic chief. Booth summarized his authority over the whole scheme in this way:

It will be managed on principles which assert that the fittest ought to rule, and it will provide for the fittest being selected, and, having got them to the top, will insist on universal and unquestioning obedience from those at the bottom. If anyone does not like to work for his rations and submit to the orders of his superior officers, he can leave. There is no compulsion on him to stay. The world is wide, and outside the confines of our Colony and the operations of our Corps my authority does not extend.

It was this tremendous authority that Booth possessed which caused Professor Huxley to take issue with him. Huxley wondered if the Booth who spoke in such terms would always be

able to use his enormous powers honestly and wisely. What would happen when the Army had grown to a size of 100,000 officers pledged to blind obedience, distributed through the length and breadth of the poorer classes, each with his finger on the trigger of a mine charged with discontent and fanaticism; with control of eight or ten million sterling of capital and as many of income; with barracks in every town, with estates scattered over the country, and with overseas settlements of men who had been put down by Booth with stifled minds and saddened conscience—men whose manhood had been completely dwarfed. Such men could make worse social evils than drunkenness and prostitution could ever produce. But Booth's despotism was in agreement with the notions of Thomas Carlyle, who had also considered in detail the problem of economic salvation for the poor. For Carlyle, republican senate and plebiscite would not answer well in cotton mills. Further, despotism did not mean that men were pressed down and dwarfed. Despotism could be reconciled with a dignity and freedom for men. This freedom was not like the nomad's or the ape's freedom, to be sure, but it was still a freedom. Carlyle felt that a despotism that was rigorous and just would be essential in organizing labor and managing the working classes by those who stood practically in the middle of it—by those who worked themselves and presided over work.

In his effort to control the scheme, Booth rested largely upon his belief in the sense of honor and the scruples of his officers and of the poor among whom they labored. Permeating his organization, he felt, was a conscientious spirit centered around the rules which he had laid down and applied autocratically to all who followed him.

Booth depended a great deal for control on the intimate communication of the members of his Army and the poor clients whom they sought to benefit. This warm personal and individual communication between the scheme's personnel went a great way toward lending solidarity to the movement.

Specific attention was given to the problem of education and belief. Booth proposed that a public elementary school be

constructed in the center of the farm colony alongside the Workingmen's Agricultural University. Education in honesty, truth, the orders, government and regulations which the colonists were to obey, patience, forbearance, and affection would be part of the curriculum. The members of the scheme would be instructed in all lines that affected their future careers. They would receive encouragement in industrial efforts in which they could profitably be employed in the future.

An "Index of Sociological Experiments" would be set up. Two men and a boy in an office would search the daily and weekly press reports. They would file all information of the social-welfare type recorded from distant places. By studying this information from various sources, Salvation Army officers and their clients would possess a growing familiarity with plans and methods peculiar to similar activities on the globe.

No stress on religious beliefs, at least from a specific doctrinal standpoint, is discovered in Booth's Darkest England Scheme. Aside from stress on the fundamental belief in the possibility of changing a man's nature and producing a social regeneration by a spiritual conversion experience, there is little special mention of religious procedures which would apply to the colonists themselves. It is true that Booth's officers of the Army itself were bound by common religious convictions and methods of expressing these by the organizational rules of The Salvation Army. They had learned these doctrines and methods largely through the training they had undergone in the training colleges before their commissioning as officers. It was through their efforts, in close contact with the subjects of Darkest England, that he sought to instill the belief in the value and necessity of a religious conversion experience.

Booth realized that financial support for his social-welfare proposals rested in great measure on good relations with the larger British public. He must prove himself worthy of the social sanction of that public. He had to justify his right for collecting funds. He had to perform the functions which he said he would use public funds to perform. In order to gain that support, he developed the family ideal. He sought to glorify the patriarchal

family type. He could give to the British public and to the world what he promised through the maintenance of the inner coherence springing from family units based on the Christian ideal which he hoped to establish.

Force or compulsion in creating and maintaining the organizational unity of the Darkest England Scheme is seen especially in Booth's proposals to attract new subjects. It is detected again in the expulsion of the individual from the group for failure to conform to agreed standards of conduct. It is encountered again in a special case in which Professor T. H. Huxley took particular notice in condemning Booth's approach to the problems of the poor.

Booth felt that the city colony, the farm colony and the colony overseas were comparable to the feast in the parable; but these alone could not suffice in themselves to lift the individual socially and economically. He urged that his workers fill the great and small streets of England in an aggressive attempt to compel the poor to come into his colonies.

Just as he sought to compel some to join, so others might be forced out of the group. Among colonists in general, no cases of drunkenness, falsehood, dishonesty, profane language, cruelty to man, woman, child or animal, offenses against the virtue of women or of children of either sex, or failure or refusal to work would be tolerated. Individuals guilty of such infractions would immediately or in time be forced out of the colonies.

In one of the case histories presented with results of social work which Booth had already put into effect, compulsion or force is an outstanding technique. The case was one of seduction in which the Salvationists had hunted up the accused male. They followed him to the country. They threatened him with public exposure. They forced a payment from him of sixty pounds and an allowance of one pound a week, as well as an insurance policy of four hundred and fifty pounds in favor of the girl he had seduced. The choice of the male was between a forced payment or public exposure. This case precipitated a voluble reaction from Professor Huxley, who felt that in many ways the Salvationists' "threatening" approach was similar to blackmail or to methods

employed in a Sicilian Mafia. Booth's response to such interpretations of his technique was that he had only turned the Devil's own guns upon the Devil.

However much success Booth might win in initiating interest in his scheme, he faced the problem of maintaining that interest. He realized the importance of a broad propaganda system to place his movement solidly before the public. The *War Cry*, which today has a world-wide sale, is perhaps the best known of these propaganda publications. The uniformed Army worker on the street, in the bar, in the hospital, and in the home also carries on an aggressive propaganda campaign for the Army, making a continuous and humble effort to develop good will. Today the Army continues the constant appeal through its *War Cry* and the humility expressed by the poke bonnet and the tambourine to prove that Booth's agency is the proper instrument to perform charity. "Would you like to help the Army? . . . Thank you, sir. God bless you."

X

A Grain of Mustard

There is a great variety of ways in which contributions are made toward advancing the social-welfare program of The Salvation Army today. Some send their pledges to the local Community Chest, and the Army receives its share of that gift. Others drop dimes and quarters into a jingling tambourine, or they help to keep the Christmas kettle boiling with good cheer each December. Through the year there are thousands of housewives who request a Salvation Army truck to pick up used clothing or furnishings. In whatever way the contribution is made, the contributor is helping to push forward the comprehensive social-welfare scheme which William Booth envisioned. Such donations aid the Army to uphold its motto that "A man may be down, but he's never out."

Almost in their entirety, the vast network of social-welfare divisions that are supported by public cash and material gifts today had their inception first as a dream and then as an achievement of William Booth—despotic by temperament and habit, conscious of his power and achievement, but deeply sympathetic, dogmatically faithful, earnest, masterful and wise. Booth's proposals are the products of restless times in a restless place. They reached the people at a time when pressing and vital topics filled the air and roused the attention of Booth's brother Englishmen. While

some men talked of the future of Africa, others wondered what to do about home rule for Ireland. There were questions on the value of the McKinley tariff bill in Europe. Favorite subjects of the time included co-operation in agriculture and socialism as an economic device. And with his social proposals the Booth of the nineties became another headline topic of the day. He gave men something to think about, to question, to speculate upon, to criticize and condemn or praise. He gave them stories of the peculiar antics of a noisy Army of righteous devotees. He proposed to save the world with the old, old story of a crucified Christ. It was through his social-welfare proposals that he became the great man of history, for they represented a lasting variation in the social and religious order. They were concrete; they were opportunistically proposed; they were skillfully established. They were parts of a complex socio-evangelistic mechanism that today becomes increasingly appreciated in efforts toward community betterment.

Booth's plan fitted nicely into Devine's conception of social work in that it was a salvage and repair service. Booth reached down into the depths, and while the human material he pulled out was tainted and reflected gross imperfections, he did attempt to repair the damage. His vision as finally put into operation was a group of allied activities that were dedicated to the improvement of social relationships of his beneficiaries whom he found in the depths of society's slums. It was a comprehensive plan. It consisted of the prevention or the relief of poverty, the prevention or cure of disease, the treatment or reform of the criminal and the general abolition of conditions that hindered progress in the industrial and social life of the poor. The scheme thus included aspects of what the modern social worker considers family case work, child-welfare work, medical social work, and probation, parole and after-care.

Booth's scheme for pulling men out of the mire of their social despondency was not an expression of philanthropic and individual voluntary effort or interest. It was primarily the organized functioning of a planned social economy, both as a temporary remedy for particular individuals and as a constructive and orderly mechanism for changing and improving general social conditions.

The plan in operation followed the principles of modern-day social case work. It advocated the social study of the individual who was burdened with moral and economic insecurity. The social history must be taken and a diagnosis of the specific trouble arrived at through the close and sympathetic contact of The Salvation Army social officer and the client. Booth's three-point plan of social salvage—the religious and social experience and help of the city colony, the training of the farm colony, and, finally, if necessary, the restorative labor of the colony overseas—was effected as the physical treatment for the individual sufferer. To the social officer Booth gave the responsibilities for determining the type and extent of treatment necessary in the individual case. This officer must interview, observe and make the record for the files. He must establish rapport with the person seeking aid, and this step of acquaintance in preparation for the healing therapy of the colony experience was of particular importance, for Booth's worker was dealing with much more than a hungry, or displaced or maladjusted man or woman or child. This was a never-dying soul to win. This was a star to add to the worker's crown in Glory. That star could shine bright enough only when the officer had accomplished the removal of sin and evil from the heart and mind of the client. This was always to be the fundamental goal of The Salvation Army's work amongst the needy, wherever they might be found.

Booth's social-welfare philosophy became a part of the shifting perspective in social work, away from that long held by most social reformers, theorists and philanthropists. This view considered the poor, the sick, the criminal, or the neglected children against a background standard of the normal and quantitatively solid mass of the general population. The perspective emerging with Booth was advocacy of an analytical view from the angle and standpoint of the individual client himself. As a part of this perspective, Booth's workers became welfare instruments of adjustment, whom he manipulated upon the social and physical environment in the interest of the client. With his definition of the social problem, Booth's specific interest in the individual stranger "who stood at the door and asked for a crust or a job" is ready

expression of this inner or client-determined perspective of present-day social work. He said, "I must assert unhesitatingly that anything which treats a man as if he were only a number in a series or a cog in a wheel must utterly fail as a remedial agency." He was speaking of "John Jones, a stout stalwart labourer in rags, asking for work that he may live and not die of sheer starvation." And in that proposal he was speaking in the individualistic terms of Wesley, who felt that the individual was the concrete measure of all spiritual things. The building block of the Christian social order was the individual, for the Christian whole was composed of the sum of its parts. And while Booth was directly concerned with the individual as a functioning personality out of whom flowed all the possibilities for attaining a better world for this and successive generations, his social work at the same time placed emphasis upon the larger society and the local neighborhood as matrices of the individual and of the potential social-work client. Booth advocated self-maintenance; he knew that this depended both on the particular human equipment and on the environmental circumstances. He knew that a man may be down by a failure in either of these compartments.

By his vigorous agitation for social reform during the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Booth helped to usher in the twentieth with a new hope for the needy through his socio-evangelistic Salvation Army. His staunch advocacy of the philosophy that "a man may be down but he's never out" brought honors to him that have found expression in various social and industrial histories of England. Historians have been free in their commendation for his effort to transform the outcast sections of his own and other lands into the accepted. One historian presents him as an organizational genius and offers an interpretation of his underlying social-welfare philosophy. Another compares him with St. Francis and considers the Army a part of the general social and administrative progress that characterized the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Still another writer speaks of the sensationalism, revivalism, and philanthropic activity that was part of the scheme. Booth made a business of religion. He took the underlying class system of the Methodists, the guilds of the Epis-

copalians, and the associations of the Catholics and extended them into a new and comprehensive means of soul-saving—watching over his converts day and night and setting them to enthusiastically preaching to others as soon as they were reclaimed themselves. He took the eighteenth-century desire of Wesley for an overnight factory, nursing care, and the poor man's bank and expanded them into a comprehensive reality of social service.

In turning his dream into reality, Booth was quick to recognize the great cost not only in men and women with heart devoted to good deeds, but in ready cash. He saw the wide financial gap that existed between his submerged and the members of the upper crust. Those for whom he dreamed of escape were living and dying in misery while they were surrounded by plenty. From a philosophical standpoint, Booth's dream of a way out of darkness was rooted in feelings of the efficacy of religion in bringing about a change in the nature and in the interests of men. It rested further for its effectiveness upon specific and broad convictions concerning the strength and unity and lasting goodness of the patriarchal family type. It was rooted in respect and obedience to rightful authority—both earthly and heavenly. It rested economically upon co-operation and the belief in the possibility of a world-wide human brotherhood—upon Booth's unwavering conviction that all men are their brother's keeper. But from the standpoint of practice, Booth knew that he must face the concrete and tangible problems of financing his vision. He knew he had to have money. He believed he knew where he could get it.

The spirit in which he appealed for money to finance the proposals of his Darkest England ideal was much like that of Paul when Paul collected money for the poor at Jerusalem. Paul attached the highest importance to this collection, and he invited all the people to contribute. He valued it not merely for the relief it would bring to the deep poverty of the city of Jerusalem; he considered it an expression of the practical Christian altruism of the heart who gave it. Money to Paul—and to Booth—was a symbol of that binding unity in which all of God's children were held together. For Booth, the collections of money that came into his great Army treasury were evidences of brotherly love and

unity. They were expressions that those of the British social classes above his Darkest-Englanders were actually still close to them at heart. What the fortunate people needed was a guiding light and competent control for their philanthropic investment into human reclamation. Booth became that control.

In terms of dollars and cents, one writer observed that every man who did not work lived off the labors of other men. A wastrel of the London streets annually devoured and used up in one way or another at least forty pounds' worth of food, drink, light, fire and shelter. Such an individual could produce by his own work at least sixty pounds' worth of something of social value. Thus, every such idle man became a dead loss of one hundred pounds to his community each year. If Booth could convert two hundred and sixty of these creatures from ways of waste to ways of usefulness, there would result a saving to the community of 26,000 pounds annually in clear money.

In matters of finance he was objective. He squarely faced his problem. He did not propose or expect that all the parts of his scheme would be wholly self-supporting. He did not believe that an effective rescue of unfortunate girls from undesirable courses in life could be carried on wholly from the proceeds of work done by the girls themselves. He did not believe that the prison-gate homes or the criminal homes would quite pay their way. But he had found by experience that the food depots would maintain themselves in the broadest sense of the term. He believed that his "metropolises," or superior lodging houses, would pay a profit which would help to meet the slight deficit that might come from their operation. In the metropole, a penny paid for supper, two-pence paid for bed and from twelve to sixteen hours of shelter, while another penny paid for breakfast. The labor shops and factories of the city colony were designed so much more to help the men to recover themselves than to make money from their services that Booth anticipated deficits from their operation. But the deficits were small. It should also be remembered that these shops taught men trades. They recuperated those whose industrial efficiency was practically lost. At the same time, his factory methods relieved the state and all charitable organizations of responsibility

for the welfare of these workers. So the slight deficit involved in managing the factories was actually a social investment that one observer remarked "paid a hundred per cent a year." Booth's workshops for women, as put into operation for bookbinding and knitting and laundering, were self-sustaining in the aggregate.

Booth obtained a large measure of financial support for his scheme by the impressive public response in lands and funds that resulted from the publication of his book *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. Some 200,000 copies sold within a year after publication. The financial return from his appeal for 100,000 pounds with an annual subsidy of 30,000 pounds was encouraging during the first year of sale of the book. By February, 1891, four months after the work had reached the popular market, 108,000 pounds had been subscribed. By September, 1892, Booth had procured 129,288 pounds for use in establishing his social-welfare proposals.

With a pound weekly he could maintain a missionary in the slums. With five pounds he could support a young girl in a rescue home for three months. An officer could be supported in India one year with five pounds. A rescue home of thirty inmates could be operated for one week on ten pounds. Booth could train an officer for any field of Salvation Army activity for twelve pounds. He could send a missionary officer to a point as far away as India for fifteen pounds. He could open a food and shelter depot for one thousand pounds, and two new rescue homes could begin operation on one thousand pounds.

Land for some of the colonies that Booth had envisioned was deeded to The Salvation Army by interested citizens. For example, the land of Fort Herrick Farm Colony, which he established in Colorado, was given by the owners, Myron T. Herrick and James Parmelee. Citizens of Cleveland, Ohio, and other interested American friends of The Salvation Army contributed \$20,000 toward the Herrick enterprise.

Booth won the attention, sympathy and financial support of a great circle of friends outside the ranks of his Army. The student may well wonder where the Army would be today if it were not for the pennies and dimes that are given for its promotion

by the man on the street. Where would the Army be today if it should lose the conscientious support and willing labor of the thousands of advisory-board members at work with it and for it in hundreds of communities throughout the world? So it was in the time of Booth. The Army sought and valued the friendship of the Christian and non-Christian men and women whose social position and prestige was as high as their reputation for philanthropy. Booth called for aid from these people who approved the general aims of his Army but who did not wish to enlist directly under the blood-and-fire banner. They were simply required to endorse the general object which was "to extend the Kingdom of God," to pay their membership fees and annual dues. They accepted a pin or badge, which they were at liberty to wear or not, as they chose.

The money did come into the treasury, and the missionary program, the rescue homes, the officer-training and food and shelter depots were developed as never before in the history of Booth's Army. But while his capital increased, some predicted that the old General would soon run away to some foreign land and live in luxury on the pennies given for his poor. And they sang a little song to express that distrust:

Salvation stock is humming every day,
Utopia nearer coming—so they say!
Now when Booth has banked his cash,
And has cooked the Devil's hash,
He'll wave his blood-red sash, and away!

But Booth, in the face of mockery, smiled and drew strength when he heard the little ones in his Army say:

One, two, three, the Devil's after me.
Four, five, six, he's always throwing bricks.
Seven, eight, nine, he missed me every time.
Hallelujah! Hallelujah! I'm saved!

And he heard glad voices through the windows of his headquarters sing their trust in his faith and action as they mustered to march down London streets:

And we'll roll the old chariot along,
And we won't drag on behind.
The General will help us to roll it along,
So don't drag on behind.
The collection will help us to roll it along,
So don't drag on behind.
If the devil's in the way, we will roll it over him.
As we won't drag on behind.
If the sinner's in the way, we will stop and take him in,
And we won't drag on behind.

There was remarkable governmental interest in Booth's proposals. The ruling heads of various countries, especially of the Commonwealth, were impressed with his ideas on overseas colonization. For example, the government of South Africa provided an annual grant of \$1,000 toward the expenses of colonies in Africa. The Australian government contributed annual grants of \$15,000 for the homes and farms in Salvation Army colonies of that country. These financial grants accompanied land grants by these two governments.

In Western Australia the government deeded 20,000 acres of land. This acreage consisted of forest, scrub and open country, with seventeen miles of river frontage. In addition to the large tract, several smaller colonies were established on 3,000 acres. These smaller farm colonies included three industrial farms for "criminal and neglected boys" and three industrial homes for girls, with total accommodations of 362.

The Senate and citizens of Hamburg granted The Salvation Army an allowance of \$1,190 for a period of three years. At Cologne and other towns of western Germany a certain part of municipal funds was placed at its disposal for its social work. In other German communities its efforts were seconded by grants of children's playgrounds and buildings for various purposes.

Booth wrote in his *Darkest England* of the advantages of a poor man's bank. He directed the establishment of such a bank in 1890. It is called The Salvation Army Bank. Today there are special facilities with other banks in various cities. Bills of ex-

change, annuities, dividends and pensions can be collected. Money may be remitted to most parts of the world. Deposits receive interest of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum. Booth used bank funds for investment in real estate for use in his Darkest England Social Scheme.

As a further financial means of increasing the scope of Salvation Army social-welfare activities, Booth obtained the charter of the Methodist and General Assurance Society in 1891. In 1904, he changed the name of this insurance agency to The Salvation Army Assurance Society, Limited. In 1895, there were 38,500 insurance policies with a premium income of 6,992 pounds, and total funds amounting to 14,039 pounds. By 1946 there were 2,108,116 policies with a premium income of 2,001,245 pounds and total funds amounting to 11,720,468 pounds. The Salvation Army officers who acted as Booth's insurance agents during his lifetime and those who have since his death function to advise households and to "lead whole families to Christ." When sickness, sorrow, or death strike, their visits are said to result in "changed lives and brightened homes." The insurance company serves as a source of funds for investing in the further social-welfare efforts of The Salvation Army.

Booth directed the establishment of The Salvation Army Fire Insurance Corporation, Limited. The company was registered by the British Board of Trade in 1909. The corporation writes policies on all branches of fire insurance and also issues household comprehensive, burglary and plate-glass policies and motorcar and cycle policies.

As a further example of the financial efforts of The Salvation Army in advancing as a socio-religious agency, gold bonds may be mentioned. The Salvation Army issued thirty-year gold bonds on the Colorado and California colonies of Herrick, Amie and Romie. Interest was payable semi-annually at 5 per cent. A sinking fund of 2 per cent was provided, and the bonds were guaranteed by The Salvation Army, Incorporated.

After the formulation and presentation of his scheme to the people of Britain and the world, Booth witnessed a remarkable growth of his agency. It was now recognized as a socio-religious organization. For descriptive purposes it may be divided into two

wings, the religious wing and the social wing. These were intimately related and inseparable. In order to gain some idea of the expansion of his agency and appreciate the effectiveness of his proposals, the development of the two wings will be treated briefly. First, consider the religious wing.

In 1876, some eleven years after the beginning of The Christian Mission, there were 2,455 members. There were 546 public speakers with 167 weekly indoor meetings and 213 weekly outdoor meetings. Weekly indoor attendances numbered 22,800. There were more than 4,676 copies of the Mission magazine sold in 1876.

In October, 1890, there was a total of 2,874 corps or religious societies and 876 outposts. Officers and persons wholly engaged in the work had grown in number to 9,416. There were thirty training colleges. These were occupied by 400 cadets; each cadet received six months' training before being sent into the field.

The work of evangelizing the villages was carried on with seven large vans, known as "Calvary forts." Each van carried nine officers and traveled from place to place, where the officers held meetings from the van because the population of certain areas was too sparse to justify establishment of a regular corps or outpost.

In 1890, in Britain alone Booth was circulating 300,000 copies of his *War Cry* weekly. There were 103,000 copies of *The Young Soldier* for the young people. Each month 48,000 copies of the *Deliverer* reached the homes of his Salvationists. Along with the periodicals issued through his trade department, there were 22,000 Army bonnets sold to his female soldiers.

The annual cost of telegrams in Great Britain amounted to 2,000 pounds. For the week ending September 13, 1890, there were 5,574 letters and telegrams received at the London headquarters, and 1,300 were sent out. There were in addition 5,000 to 6,000 circulars and parcels issued every week.

The enthusiasm to join the ranks of the Army for life service, by 1889, reached a new high. Some 3,000 candidates that year offered themselves for training as officers. Only 1,320 could be accepted.

In 1898 there were 6,350 corps or religious societies. Officers numbered 14,000, and 33,800 soldiers in various localities served as "local officers."

By 1909, some three years before Booth's death, there were 8,582 corps or outposts. There were 13,726 officers and cadets.

Now consider the development of the social wing. Attention should first be directed to the progress of the city colony. In 1890, just before the publication of his *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, The Salvation Army operated thirty-three rescue homes for "fallen women," thirty-three slum posts and ten prison-gate brigades. There were four food depots, five shelters for the destitute, one inebriates' home, one factory for the unemployed, and two labor bureaus. The number of officers or managers of the social wing was 384. By 1895, Booth had begun homes for young girls and orphan children and homes and huts for military personnel.

By 1898, there were 473 social-work establishments. By 1900, 29,574,535 cheap meals had been supplied. Shelter had been provided for 12,498,004 men; professions of religious conversions had been made by 13,750 men. Ex-prisoners who had passed through the Prison-Gate Home numbered 4,783. Workshops of the city colony had employed 25,727 men.

By his demand for a return in labor for benefits received by his clients, Booth by 1900 was realizing as much with 260,000 pounds as he could have realized with 2,000,000 pounds if he had demanded no work from the poor. And Booth boasted of the indirect results that came from his efforts. He felt that he had inspired others to undertake similar tasks of helping the poor. And those who had not undertaken efforts themselves were in many cases subsidizing the Army to do the work for them.

In 1900 Booth operated 158 shelters and food depots for homeless men and women. There were 121 slum posts, and each of these had its own slum sisters. There were 37 labor bureaus and 60 factories for the unemployed. He had developed 11 land colonies; there were 11 labor homes for ex-criminals. There were 91 rescue homes for women, and two maternity hospitals for deserted mothers, along with several nursing institutions. He had

established a service with branches in forty-five countries and colonies for finding lost and missing persons, together with a host of allied and minor agencies.

Thus, from his beginning in social work in the mid-eighties, Booth had developed by 1900 some 545 different social-welfare divisions. There were 2,000 specially trained officers for this work. He touched 20,000 destitute persons each day. There were 15,000 housed each night. He had 300 ex-criminals in his care each day. Each year he took 5,000 women from the shame of the streets and sheltered them from harm. On his land colonies more than 1,000 men were employed. There was always a minimum of 2,000 women in the rescue homes.

By 1902, organized midnight brigades of Salvation Army workers acted in London to bring in the harlot from the streets. By 1908, the Anti-suicide Bureau had been established; hospitals and leper colonies and "eventide homes" for the aged took shape under Booth's direction and control. In the same year efforts for the rehabilitation of criminals were begun in the Punjab, Nadros, Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and the Andaman Islands.

In 1909, the social wing of The Salvation Army was managed by 2,520 officers. The complete number of shelter and food depots was 187 with an accommodation of 18,531. There were 58 labor bureaus, 145 labor homes and factories, with an accommodation of 4,936. There were 18 ex-criminal homes with facilities for 486 individuals.

The women's social service in 1909 included 139 rescue and maternity homes which would care for 3,469 charges. There were 30 shelter and food depots with 1,934 subjects provided for; there were 59 children's homes and 147 slum posts. In addition, the organization managed 104 other social institutions of various kinds. Together the different units of the social wing numbered 904 establishments with a combined residential accommodation of 29,356.

An over-all picture of the work of the Darkest England Scheme in the United Kingdom from 1891 to 1909 and during the year 1910 may be gained from a study of Sir Rider Haggard's summary. He presents the following chart:

	To SEPTEMBER 30, 1909	DURING 1910	TOTAL TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1910
1. Number of meals supplied at cheap-food depots	69,784,480	6,869,897	76,654,377
2. Number of cheap lodgings for the homeless	27,850,674	2,445,300	30,295,974
3. Number of meetings held in shelters	140,747	8,660	149,407
4. Number of applications for unemployment registered at labor bureaus	302,538	13,009	315,547
5. Number received into factories	63,694	6,754	70,448
6. Number for whom employment (temporary or permanent) has been found	249,453	20,210	269,663
7. Number of ex-criminals received into homes	8,840	416	9,256
8. Number of ex-criminals assisted, restored to friends, sent to situations, etc.	7,886	1,166	9,052
9. Number applications for lost persons	44,001	2,120	46,121
10. Number lost persons found	13,710	393	14,103
11. Number women and girls received into rescue homes	44,417	3,679	48,096
12. Number women and girls received into rescue homes who were sent to situations, restored to friends, etc.	37,168	3,346	40,514
13. Number of families visited in slums	998,079	109,750	1,107,829

	TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1909	DURING 1910	TOTAL TO SEPTEMBER 30, 1910
14. Number of families prayed with	577,550	64,141	641,691
15. Number of public houses visited	630,021	33,188	663,209
16. Number of lodging houses visited	17,330	3,457	20,787
17. Number of lodging-house meetings held	7,319	1,792	9,111
18. Number of sick people visited and nursed	93,233	21,912	115,145

In perhaps no other country of the world was the growth of Booth's activities and social services more marked than in the United States. The effect of his proposals in other countries was in keeping with Booth's desire. For him, his scheme was "a very simple one, although in its ramifications and extensions it involves the whole world." He knew that London was certainly not the only place which needed social reform. A reporter of the *New York World* described conditions in that city. Enough filth was discovered "to breed diphtheria and typhoid throughout a large section." In one area, right beneath a window one could find "several inches of stagnant water, in which is heaped a mass of old shoes, cabbage heads, garbage, rotten wood, bones, rags and refuse, and a few dead rats." A small room would house "three women, a man, a baby, a bedstead, a stove, and indescribable dirt." There were few clean bodies. "For these people a bath possesses more terror than the gallows or the grave." The various rooms of a dilapidated apartment were terrifying. "In one room, with a wee window, lies a woman dying of consumption." In another room "three days ago a woman died, and the body has just been taken away." In still another room one could find "a woman in an opium stupor. Drunken men are brawling around her."

In 1894, in New York, the following report of the work was issued by the Social Work Headquarters:

Souls saved	1,134
Families visited	31,277
Saloons visited	40,513
Tenements prayed in	21,884
Dealt with in saloons and streets	72,110
Meals given	26,538
Garments given or sold	11,164
Sick cases nursed	1,454
Children cared for	3,792
Washing rooms	126

In 1910 the Army supplied Christmas dinners for a total of 350,000 poor. The Army that year spent over a quarter million dollars on poor relief. There were a total of 1,961,677 beds supplied for the destitute, and 144,255 meals were given. Army operations were being carried on in 876 corps and outposts. Local officers and bandsmen numbered 6,104. These militant missionaries were ministering to a total indoor attendance of 8,248,497, and the United States was only one of a total of fifty-six countries and colonies served in 1910. By 1911, Booth had established 896 corps and outposts in the American states. His message of love and good will was being advanced by 3,875 officers and employees. The city colony had 75 workingmen's hotels. There were four women's hotels, and in these there were nightly accommodations for 6,592. There were 1,961,677 beds furnished each year. Booth had cried out for the children of the streets. There were 4 American children's homes and 4 day nurseries with special care for the little ones. There was also special attention directed to the children in his 23 slum settlements. For the very poor he had set up a total of 20 food depots to aid in the emergency of food scarcity. There were 20 employment bureaus which furnished work for 1,500 persons each month. Many who came seeking aid found work in one of the 107 industrial homes that had been set in operation. There were three farm colonies, and 350 people

worked on the farms. The products of the industrial homes of the city colony were sold in 107 salvage stores.

In a single year of operations in the United States, 309,591 persons were afforded temporary relief. Summer outings were given to 3,972 mothers and to 24,373 children. Employment was found for 65,124 men and for 5,355 women. There were distributed 1,593,834 pounds of ice and 4,579,788 pounds of coal. There were regular visits to prisons, workhouses and hospitals. At the Paris Exposition, the Army received a gold medal for its work among the poor.

Next, consider the development of the farm colony. The best-known farm colony growing out of Booth's proposals has been the Hadleigh Land and Industrial Colony. It is in operation today and is located in Essex, four miles from Southend, England. By 1893, dormitories for 350 colonists fitted with single bedsteads or cubicles and a laundry had been established. There were residences for officers and employees. A small hospital, capable of accommodating 20 patients had been erected. The colony included a reading room and other buildings. There was a barracks which accommodated 600 people and which was used both by the colonists and the needy villagers of the surrounding districts every night. It was used for religious services on Sunday. A bakery had been established and was supplying its own expenses. There were stores for required supplies. A refreshment room was set up for meeting the requirements of visitors to the colony during the summer months and for use in the technical education of the men in winter. Agricultural buildings at Hadleigh included a cowhouse and covered yard, which occupied half an acre of ground. It accommodated 100 milking cows and 100 fattening cattle. There were piggeries and a dairy in operation. A wharf or jetty had been constructed. Two brick fields had been opened for brick-making as a source of work for the colonists and as a source of revenue.

By 1903, the arable farm land of the Hadleigh Colony amounted to 600 acres. There were 1,000 acres in use as pasture land. A market garden comprised 300 acres. Shore and fishing grounds amounted to 1,000 acres.

Expenditures for Hadleigh Colony by 1903 amounted to approximately the following:

Original cost of the land	\$200,000
Buildings, railways, wharf and other necessities	125,000
Purchase of adjoining lands	125,000
Cattle, sheep, horses and general stock	100,000
Wagons, machinery, implements, etc.	50,000
<hr/>	
TOTAL	\$600,000

By 1904, the income from the orchards of Hadleigh with that of the pastures, market gardens, chicken farms and brick works amounted to more than 30,000 pounds. Hadleigh Colony had a population of 1,300 people.

By 1903, there were three growing farm colonies in the United States. Fort Amity, nestled in the valley of the Arkansas River, covered 640 acres when it was purchased in 1898. By 1906 there were 2,000 acres. On this site lived 400 colonists, and the community used twenty stores, two schools which had been constructed in the center of the village, a post office and railroad connections.

Fort Romie, located near the Bay of Monterey in California, comprised 500 acres and supported 120 colonists. Fort Herrick, situated twenty miles from Cleveland, Ohio, spread over 288 acres.

Several farm colonies had been established by The Salvation Army in South Africa by 1903. A tract of land had been granted to the Army in Rhodesia and two tracts in Zululand. These were to be used for the formation of native settlements.

An idea of the way in which life was carried on in the farm colony may be obtained by considering the reports of writers of the day who visited the Hadleigh Colony and watched Booth's vision in practice. One would proceed up an avenue and along the way pass eight or ten small houses where the married foremen of the colony lived with their families. Each home had its flower garden and "demonstrated a desire on the part of its occupants to make it look pretty and homelike." The foremen were all Salva-

tionists and had practical experience in their different callings. These foremen directed the activity of the poor who had been sent into the farm colony after gaining the working experience of the city colony. The workers of the farm colony were thus a more select group than that found in the city colony. Wages on the farm differed according to individual cases but were determined by personal needs. Part of the wages due the colonists for work accomplished was kept back each week in order to make a little fund with which they might get clothing and other things they should need when leaving the colony. Booth liked to think that each of his foremen could earn more money elsewhere but that he was "willing to make sacrifices for the submerged."

One could look down on the Thames marshes and see two or three large fields of fine wheat growing upon land that the poor colonists had reclaimed from the river. They had taken dirt or rubbish brought from London and used sand and other material from different parts of the colony as fillers in eroded areas.

In the heart of the Hadleigh Colony was situated the Army Hall, which would hold about 800 people. The attendance of the men at the services was good, though no one was obliged to attend. Booth regarded the spiritual results in terms of souls saved as not perfect—he had not looked or hoped for perfection—but satisfactory, and the farm colony gave him immense satisfaction as an evidence of his dream come true. When he looked at the colonists, they appeared well and contented with their rural surroundings away from the haste and heartache of the congested city. He watched them go about their many different agricultural pursuits. He rejoiced with the number who professed conversion. Here and there he heard the men fire volleys of "Hallelujah!" Snatches of Salvation songs filled the cool country air as the men went about their labor in co-operation with God and man.

One of the main objections to financial support for The Salvation Army's program of soul-saving was that the experience was not a lasting one; in most of the cases, according to some critics, the converted individual fell back to his ways of the world. W. T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette* and long a friend of William Booth, attended a Salvation meeting one night and sat next to a

young mechanic. Stead asked the mechanic what he thought about the business of soul-saving that the Salvationists were engaged in.

"Dunno," said the mechanic. "They're a queer lot."

"Do any good?"

"Mebbe. There's Knacker Jack—I know him."

Knacker Jack had been a burly, broad-shouldered Hercules, a brutal and violent drunkard. But the lassies had succeeded in getting him on his knees at the mercy seat, and Jack had risen with salvation in his heart.

Stead continued, speaking of Jack's new-found spiritual treasure: "Well, has it not been good for his wife and bairns?"

"Dunno. But I work in the same place as him, and it has been good for his hosses. He used to strike 'em and knock 'em about dreadful. But since the lassies got hold of him, he's never laid his hands on 'em."

And Stead felt that even if Booth's salvation experience did not last—if his converts stood only so long and then fell away—then for so long as they stood a great and beneficent change had been effected in which all surroundings shared, from the police to the horses.

The colonists made their own bread. They grew their own corn and their own fruit. They planted their own seed and harvested their own vegetables. Booth's Hadleigh Farm, thus managed with reclaimed human material, enabled him actually to add an annual sum of over 20,000 pounds to the wealth of his native country, by saving the people from a lost and wasted life. And similar savings resulted from the operation of other of his farm colonies.

Concerning the colony overseas, significant efforts were made with the emigration of selected colonists from the farm colony for cultivation of the land across the seas. The Salvation Army co-operated with governments who desired new workers for the cultivation of their agricultural lands. This was especially true in the case of Canada.

The emigration division of the Darkest England Social Scheme was established in 1903 and was called The Salvation Army Migration and Settlement Department. Significant emigra-

tion did not get under way until May, 1905, when the first Salvation ship left England with 1,000 emigrants aboard. In 1907, the passage accounts amounted to 85,014 pounds. In 1909, passage accounts amounted to 38,170 pounds. During 1910, some 8,000 to 10,000 people emigrated. Most of these were sent to Canada, which served as the mecca of The Salvation Army's emigration policy.

The dominion and provincial governments of Canada helped Booth significantly with money and land for his overseas colony. Central farm-help bureaus were established in many parts of Canada to assist the emigrants. Aid was given in St. John, Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto, London, Winnipeg, Brandon and Vancouver.

Through 1907, the Army had brought more than 55,000 people to Canada. It has been recorded that less than 1 per cent of this number failed to make good. Wages paid the colonists ran from 20 to 40 dollars a month with board. By the beginning of his second year the colonist usually had a team of horses, a couple of cows and enough seed to begin farming in earnest for himself.

To spread the good news of his emigration policy, Booth developed two periodicals. These were the *Emigration Gazette* and *The New Settler*. Before the emigrant left the native English shore in the Salvation ship, he was given a card which Booth wanted him to keep close to his heart. Upon it was inscribed much of the basic philosophy of the colonization proposals of William Booth:

God carry you safely to your new home. Fearlessly calculate upon hard work. Bravely meet difficulties. Do your duty by your families. Help your comrades. Make Canada a home that will be a credit to the old land. Put God first. Stand by the Army. Save your souls. Meet me in Heaven!

The activities of the city colony, the farm colony and the colony overseas were under the direct supervision of the officers and soldiers of Booth's Salvation Army. This fact is in line with the picture that Booth painted concerning the practical operation

of his scheme when he presented his *Darkest England* to the public and asked for their moral and financial support in making the dream a reality. For a better appreciation of the salvage program in operation, the student should consider the general quality of the personnel involved in conducting the business of the colonies.

Perhaps Booth had the Franciscan Order in mind when he started. That order demanded the threefold vow of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Booth asked for essentially the same three vows. His workers were called to chastity by the very profession of their religious conversion. This vow was not of celibacy. A great many of his workers married. It rested with them to decide whether they could reasonably carry on the work as well married as single. They were pledged to poverty. Booth's officers lived upon their small salaries. Booth himself took no special salary allotment from the collections of his Army. He did get his living and traveling expenses. One of his officers drew 200 pounds a year and a house. Another drew 150 pounds a year and a house. A third officer drew the same. This latter exchanged a position in the Indian Civil Service worth 1,200 pounds a year and the varied prospects of that position for the life that Booth outlined and dictated to him. Booth's colonels and majors and captains and lieutenants were paid from 15 to 30 shillings a week. They were as poor as church mice. Few, if any, could even hope for bank accounts. The work which Booth offered them was laborious and theoretically never-ending and rewarded by a weekly salary of, say, 25 shillings, with little prospect of an increase. What more evidence for a vow of financial poverty is needed?

Booth himself set the example of hard work and steady devotion that should be followed by those who labored for the benefit of the poor under his command. In one year of campaigning in America after the publication of his social convictions, Booth traveled 21,610 miles and addressed between 400,000 and 500,000 persons. He held 217 press interviews and answered 216 letters. During his campaign he gave 345 addresses, and in twenty-five weeks he traveled 453 night and 1,035 day hours. He found relaxation with a spiritual gun in his hand, and he kept himself ready to face the Devil in an effort to conquer him. As he grew

older he wanted his followers to know that he was "still firing at the Devil, and if I've not yet hit him in the head, I've wounded him several times in the tail." Constant vigilance for God required energy and time and enthusiasm, but there was reward and a wealth of pleasure for that one who kept the faith. "I haven't had a day off in fourteen years," he said to Philadelphia reporters, "but I'll die pretty soon, and the first thing I'll ask for in Heaven is a six months' vacation."

Booth observed the transactions that took place around an altar as the most blessed joy of his entire Christian experience. It would have been an inspiration to witness his reactions as he counted "the fortieth for God" rising from his seat in a great Salvation meeting to pass forward to the holy place of prayer. Booth's back straightened; his brow sprang upward. One could see the sweaty clench of bending fingers stifling the imprisoned handkerchief of his palm. Heartbeats livened. Inhalations altered. Blood bounded more boldly through vessels growing smaller with maturity. Warming lips melted into the happy wrinkles of smiling cheeks when a confessor clasped his hand at the altar rail. Yet not alone by these physical signs is Booth remembered, for behind the immediate thrill of an altar sight and calling itself into prime attention was also Booth's neurotic stomach, an organ that growled incessant gastric testimony to the devotion, tension and arduous labor required to attract sinners successfully to the throne of prayer.

As his age increased, Booth became increasingly the dyspeptic, food-selecting stomach-conscious General, dieting on warm toast and milk that was tossed around in digestion like country butter in a loyal housewife's churn. Booth belched, though it would perhaps have been difficult for an early-day, diehard Salvationist to picture his remarkable General as a belcher. In order to get along with his temperamental stomach, he had to belch. It was his anxious stomach as much as any other physical characteristic that made Booth in every sense the modern responsible executive, the active businessman for God. And indeed he was.

Booth found himself surrounded by a rapidly growing Army,

and he was its central nervous system. To wound him would paralyze in some degree every branch of his organization. He was sensitive and extremely cautious. He was unbelievably conscientious, feeling the unending burden of the calling of God upon him. It was true that God always helped him, but God was forever testing his own initiative, and Booth was determined that God should not be disappointed in his performance. Booth had to grope, experiment and question his battle strategy, for he had little immediate and certainly no exact precedent to follow. He threw every fiber of himself and his family into his expanding kingdom. He moved from continent to continent, internationally recruiting men. He selected them, trained them, took responsibility for their errors and suffered disappointment at their failures. Thousands of human lives looked chiefly to Booth for their guidance and success. He overcame cynical publicity and defended financial accounts against accusing public committees. He legalized his status in dozens of different countries and colonies and got himself out of court scrapes. He fought heartbreaking battles within his own family, when it seemed that children would take from a father what that father had created for the good of all men. He spent months of hours in planning, alone, his battle tactics. . . . Begging. Always begging. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of pounds he raised for the poor. . . . Preaching. Always preaching. Thousands, tens of thousands of souls he won for God. But while Booth went about the world crying out for souls, his impudent stomach cried out for rest—a rest that Booth could never find time to give it.

While his dream unfolded, Booth was mercilessly struck by the critics' darts. Some said he was merely bringing religion into contempt. Some accused him of emotional exhibitionism. Some warned that he had planned on too large a scale, and so his scheme could come to no good future. Some felt that Salvationism cost too much. Others felt that too great a number of the poor would be physically incapable of even the small amount of strain required for sifting household rubbish. Other clients would not have the mental stamina which makes persistent labor possible. Some of his critics predicted a catastrophe when the lowest popu-

lation of other countries learned that the ranks of the vagabonds had been massed by Booth into colonies around London and food and shelter were provided under fairly pleasant conditions to the strangers of the street. They predicted that under Booth's plan England would begin attracting the scum of all of Europe to her shores. She would become a sort of depot for free colonization. Others attacked Booth's officer personnel and felt that uniformed majors or captains might lie abed with their slumming parishioners. The resulting illegitimates would only increase the burden of darkest England.

Complaints went up that Booth's warriors were too noisy. Sleep became impossible in the areas in which they held meetings and marches. Boarding-house residents were angered at his crowd of singers and clappers. But for Booth's enthusiasts their musical efforts were "an exact adaptation of the old Mosaic Hebrew style of worship." God loved to hear them sing and play in London just as He loved to hear the "joyful noises" of the Old Testament.

Professor Huxley received much aid in his blast against Booth from the editorial force of the *London Times*. *The Times* never completely accepted Booth's proposals nor gave any significant degree of sympathy toward his ideas. But other editorial opinions differed. The Methodist *Pittsburgh Christian Advocate* called him "the greatest general of the generation in which he accomplished his distinctive work." The editors of the *United Presbyterian* thought of him as a "fiery prophet and imperial commander." The Boston *Congregationalist* placed him "on a plane with the greatest philanthropists and Christians of all times."

Booth himself was not discouraged by the pessimism of those who stood on the sidelines to hurl the cynic's ban. He simply said to Bramwell, his chief of staff, "Don't answer them. Get on with the work!" Even before his dream went into operation, he had anticipated harsh reactions from students of the problem around him. And he had said to them, "If you have any better plan than mine for saving your fellow creatures from imminent destruction, in God's name bring it to the light and get it carried out quickly. If you have not, then lend me a hand with mine."

But the majority of his English brethren with prestige and influence saw the evolution of his proposals as the miracle of the time. It was the latest revelation of the potency of the invisible over the visible. It was the concrete manifestation of the power of the spirit over matter.

Booth's plan received international recognition, and soon his proposals were in operation in a number of new countries and in colonies of his native England. The Salvation Army as an organization of a distinctly socio-religious character was extended to Zululand in 1891, the Netherlands Indies in 1894, Japan in 1895, Iceland, British Guiana, and Central America in 1904, and Korea in 1908. With this international extension of his organization Booth himself fell into the bright light of popular favor more than he had ever experienced in the earlier days of his movement. Outstanding among honors that he received as head of the socio-religious agency was his reception by President Roosevelt in 1903. In 1904, King Edward VII and Queen Alexandra received him at Buckingham Palace. In 1905, he was given the freedom of the cities of Nottingham and London. In 1907, he was received by the kings of Norway and Denmark, by the queen of Sweden and the emperor of Japan. In October, 1907, he received an honorary doctorate in civil law from Oxford University. In 1909, he was received by the empress of Russia, by Queen Alexandra, by the Prince and Princess of Wales and by the kings of Norway and Sweden.

Booth was "promoted to Glory" on August 20, 1912. He outlived his wife Catherine by twenty-two years. Upon his death, his son, Bramwell, assumed his duties immediately. At the International Headquarters in London a sign placed in one of the windows told the passers-by: "The General has laid down his sword. God is with us!" The press and the wireless sent out the same message, and shortly the news of the General's promotion sounded through the large cities and the little hamlets of the world. Tears were shed openly in the bleak slums by the unfortunate whose cause he had courageously advanced. Men and women in the highest social stations in life lamented his passing and wondered for the future of his plan of redemption. They would miss the

inspiration of his fiery figure prancing restlessly across the speaker's platform, his gray beard moving with the wind. They would miss the sermon of his husky voice dropping its *h*'s in the loud sing-song of his native Nottingham. They would not witness again the nervous twitch of his handkerchief or see it fly with his hand as he drove home a point of praise for the Master's interest in the poor. Not again would city streets feel his marching feet as he led his warriors toward social foes beneath his banner of holy blood and fire.

His soldiers wheeled the magnificent body, now stiffened and reposed, into a colossal London hall and rested the long and sober coffin of simplest pine before the broad platform upon which he had so often preached. They placed the red, yellow-starred, blue-trimmed flag, scarred by sin from his numerous warring charges, upon the casket. His Bible was there—tattered, faithful sword of the spirit. Forty bands assembled in the hall around his aged body. They played over again the battle songs he had loved to hear. Forty bands—symbolic, perhaps, of the years that his precious Kate had pitted her courage with his own in challenges of the front. But now both Kate and Booth were gone. A bulky cross had shifted downward to a loyal son. That son was strong, but he knew that now more than ever he must think long thoughts and pray longer prayers. In the patriarchal philosophy of William Booth this seemed such a logical thing to do—to pass on the kingdom he had created to a faithful firstborn son.

Bramwell looked handsome but haggard as he walked down the spacious and carpeted aisle and mounted the battle platform that was almost covered with bright living flowers from rural fields and distant gardens. He moved wearily to a place before a plain, straight chair and dropped down quickly upon his prayer-worn knees. He put his grieving face behind the wide cup of long executive fingers and his muscular palm. Then while the tremendous audience sang "How can I e'er repay the debt of love I owe?" Bramwell, the new General, wanted to cry. But his battle had only begun. William Booth, father of the Army, cavalier of the century, had finally closed his eyes forever. The eyes of William Booth—tiny beads, black and watery; sparkling

pellets shielded by lids that drooped with his age; nervous sentinels in big round orbits on a constant lookout for sin; sharpest sabers that for forty-seven years had pierced through the body of a man to read the heart within.

The people would remember him as the valiant and powerful autocrat but humble still in his effort to provide a practical vision for the poor. They would love him as one who saw beyond all the vile crudeness and faults of life around him a brilliant future that was not out of the reach of men. For them he was a champion of his thought. He believed there was life in his proposals. With that life there was promise. With that promise there was infinite power of adjustment to the innumerable and varying circumstances of the social class that he sought to save. His scheme for bringing men out of the darkness was a sturdy plant with its firm roots spreading deep into the nature and circumstances of men—deep into the heart of God Himself. When Booth laid down his sword, that tree had already grown much. It had already been nurtured and tended by those on whom he had called for help. It had begun as the grain of mustard seed in the parable, but the consecrated fighters of his military system and the supporters outside its ranks would in future years assure its growth into a greater tree whose branches would overshadow the earth. So Booth died with a peaceful heart. He did not wait till death claimed him to be honored among men. He lived to see his social-welfare thought in action. He lived to see his dream of help for the stranger come true.

Men reviewed Booth's life and tried to bring together those qualities of his personality and those characteristics of his ministry that help to make him a name remembered in the history of the world's leaders. E. P. Noble, expressing an American's view of The Salvation Army in the *Missionary Review of the World*, was impressed with Booth's self-sacrifice and his skillful appeal to the hero and martyr of men. Booth supported the ministry of women. He believed in self-support and taught men to regard giving as a privilege. He used his converts as missionaries in Christian brotherliness. He satisfied the social sentiment. Noble remembered his faithfulness, his untiring persistency and his militariness.

W. T. Stead reflected the British sentiment when he called attention to Booth's old-fashioned faith at a time when most revelation was criticized away. Booth concentrated upon salvation versus materialism and philosophies. He wanted to unite all people for the good of the worst of men. He tried to raise the poorest elements of society to high levels of ministry, authority, and efficiency. He advocated a practical versus a university education. He expounded a gospel of work. He stood for a unity of the British Empire and sought to develop a friendly and sympathetic fellowship and brotherhood between various nationalities.

One faces a tremendous challenge when asked to summarize the contributions of this unusual personality, but these things are certain: The world is a different place because Booth lived in it. The world is a better place because Booth was here. Millions of the hungry are fed. Multitudes of the naked are clothed. The pain of sickness and death is easier to bear. The prisoner, locked and lonely behind cold walls, is visited and inspired. In the slum of the teeming city the stranger who stands outside society's door may find admission to a tranquil and sustaining security. Many of the least of men have become greatest.

The poet Gray wrote of pure gems lying in the dark corners of the ocean of society. He spoke of the flowers that blush unseen and waste their sweetness on the desert air. The sociologist Ward believed there were multitudes of talented men—"potential luminaries"—who would be unable to live their most productive lives because of crippling circumstance, unless some powerful external force were created to elevate them to the higher levels of thought and service which they justly deserved. William Booth found the gems of Gray in the cultural desert that was the humid jungland of Darkest England. He saw Ward's potential light of achievement hemmed in and smothered by wounding circumstance. In response to that vision, he created an external force that set its eye toward lifting men upward to high morality and sociability. In so doing, he added his name to those of the historical figures presented by the philosopher Emerson, who said that an institution is the enlarged shadow of one man. Emerson remembered that the world was indebted to the hermit Anthony for

monarchism. To Luther for the Reformation. George Fox gave Quakerism. Methodism was born of Wesley. He could now add a new name, associated through endless time with a remarkable spiritual force—the Salvationism of William Booth. Salvation: spurting fast like jumping bubbles of an autumn forest's spring, brimming with saving comfort for the whosoever will that come. "Oh, fire a volley!"

For his Army of officers and soldiers Booth gave a life of industrious soul-saving to replace one steeped in prodigality. He gave them the simple economic advantages and the abiding spiritual confidence of ministers of the Gospel. With bright uniforms and titles and horns and big bass drums that reflected the joy of their salvation, he satisfied their longing for recognition. He gave them the certainty that for every soul won for Jesus there would be a golden harp and a fair mansion in Glory. He gave his officer the thrill of response as the poor of the earth's worst communities honored his directions and accepted his faith in the meeting hall and in the colonies of the city and the farm and the lands across the sea. For those who dedicated themselves to Booth and his doctrines and who pledged to follow him to a home in Heaven, all of Salvation Army officership and soldiership became one happy and unique adventure.

To the ragged and dirty stranger who was wandering from the fold of usefulness Booth gave a spiritual and an economic status and security. He introduced him to the Master. He offered him a hammer or a shovel or a hoe and told him to work for his rations. Booth restored him to the warm tenderness of the family circle and knitted together the ties of neighborhood friendships that long had been broken. He disciplined him into that path that is stony, straight and narrow. He fed his fundamental human desires and alleviated his suffering. With planned and constructive experiences Booth reached the stranger's heart and so took him into the Father's presence through the Christian charity of The Salvation Army.

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Perhaps the most comprehensive original source of William Booth's social philosophy is his *In Darkest England and the Way Out*. The greatest objective study of the life of Booth is St. John Ervine's *God's Soldier: General William Booth*, though Ervine directs relatively little attention to the social-welfare philosophy of the Darkest England Social Scheme. Excerpts from Ervine were used here by permission of the Macmillan Company, publishers. There is a large selection of materials available from the Army's own publishing houses. Naturally, most of this is highly prejudiced in favor of the work of the Army. Among these publications little of an objective or analytical type is available to the student.

Among journals most helpful in the preparation of this study were W. T. Stead's *Review of Reviews*. Many of the direct quotations used herein were taken from Stead's journal articles. Encyclopedic references most helpful were found in Vergelius Ferm's *An Encyclopedia of Religion* and in *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.

Among the writings of greatest aid in developing this story are Thomas Huxley's *Evolution, Ethics and Other Essays* and George Bernard Shaw's play *Major Barbara*. Extensive reference was made to Alfred M. Lee's *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, to Zimmerman and Frampton's *Family and Society*, and to Richard C. Cabot's *The Goal of Social Work*. The evangelistic message of William Booth was developed with the help of Shailer Matthew's *Jesus on Social Institutions*, John H. Montgomery's *The Social Message of Jesus*, Francis Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, Stanley I. Stuber's *How We Got Our Denominations*, *Salvation Army Songs*, and William Booth's *Visions*.

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